WIENER STUDIEN ZUR TIBETOLOGIE UND BUDDHISMUSKUNDE
HEFT 41

OTTO OTTONOVICH ROSENBERG AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO BUDDHOLOGY IN RUSSIA

EDITED BY

KARÉNINA KOLLMAR-PAULENZ

AND

JOHN S. BARLOW

ARBEITSKREIS FÜR TIBETISCHE UND BUDDHISTISCHE STUDIEN UNIVERSITÄT WIEN

WIEN 1998

WSTB 41

WIENER STUDIEN

ZUR TIBETOLOGIE UND BUDDHISMUSKUNDE

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON

ERNST STEINKELLNER

HEFT 41

WIEN 1998

ARBEITSKREIS FÜR TIBETISCHE UND BUDDHISTISCHE STUDIEN
UNIVERSITÄT WIEN

OTTO OTTONOVICH ROSENBERG AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO BUDDHOLOGY IN RUSSIA

EDITED BY

KARÉNINA KOLLMAR-PAULENZ

AND

JOHN S. BARLOW

WIEN 1998

ARBEITSKREIS FÜR TIBETISCHE UND BUDDHISTISCHE STUDIEN
UNIVERSITÄT WIEN

camera-ready copy prepared by Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz

IMPRESSUM

Verleger: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien
Maria Theresien-Straße 3, 1090 Wien

Herausgeber und für den Inhalt verantwortlich:
Prof. Ernst Steinkellner, Reisnerstraße 6, 1030 Wien

Druck: Ernst Becvar Ges.m.b.H., Lichtgasse 10, 1150 Wien

Contents

Preface

Amid the increasing world-wide interest in Buddhology, activities in Russia in this field are less well known. This lack of knowledge must be attributed to the political circumstances which for more than half a century quite effectively impeded the exchange of scientific research results between Russia and the West. Russian Buddhology, however, despite its meager representation in the West, not only has a long tradition but provided a decisive impetus for the development of Buddhological studies in bordering countries like Germany. In the field of Oriental studies in general, for more than two centuries there had been a lively exchange of research results and new ideas between Western European countries and Tsarist Russia. The interdependence of Russian and Western European scholarship is noticeable in the fact that nearly all the major contributions to Buddhological studies from Russian Buddhologists (prior to the Soviet period) like I.P. Minaev,[1] V.P. Vasil'ev[2] and researchers in Mongolian and Tibetan studies like A.M. Pozdneev[3] have been translated into English, French or German. Furthermore, in 1912 Shcherbatskoj formed an international group of scholars working on the study of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*. This group included famous scholars like Silvain Lévi from France, Louis de la Vallée-Poussin from Belgium, Wogihara from Japan and Denison Ross from Great Britain. Shcherbatskoj himself edited the Tibetan

1 See the French translation of I.P. Minaev's *Buddizm. Issledovaniya i materialy* (*Buddhism: Studies and Materials*): Ivan Pavlovitch Minayeff: *Recherches sur le bouddhisme*. Trad. du russe par R.H. Assier de Pompignan, Paris (Leroux) 1894.

2 V.P. Vasil'ev's *Buddizm, ego dogmaty, istoriya i literatura* (*Buddhism, Its Dogmas, History and Literature*), part I, was translated into German by A. Schiefner in the year 1860. The introduction to the third part of this work, *Istoriya buddizma v Indii*, sochinenie Daranat'y. Perevod s tibetskogo V. Vasil'eva (*The History of Buddhism in India*, the Work of Tāranātha. Translated from the Tibetan by V. Vasil'ev), 1869, was also translated by Schiefner, see *Herrn Professor Wassiljew's Vorrede* zu seiner russischen Übersetzung Tāranātha's. Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, deutsch mitgetheilt von A. Schiefner. Nachtrag zu der deutschen Übersetzung Tāranātha's. St. Petersburg, 1869. See also E. Lyall, "Biographies of Aśvaghosa, Nagārjuna, Āryadeva and Vasubandhu, translated from Vassilief", in: *Indian Antiquary*, 4, 1875, pp. 141-145.

3 Pozdneev, one of the most important pioneering researchers in the field of Mongolian studies, has been translated into English rather late. His monograph *Mongoliya i mongoly. Rezul'taty poezdki mongoliya, ispolnennoj v 1892-1893gg* (*Mongolia and the Mongols. Results of a Journey through Mongolia, Carried out in the Years 1892-1893*) (St. Petersburg, Tipografiya imperatorskoj akademii nauk, 1896) was translated into English as late as 1971 and 1977, see A.M. Pozdneyev, *Mongolia and the Mongols*, Vol. I, ed. by John R. Krueger and Fred Adelman. Translated from the Russian by John Roger Shaw and Dale Plank. Bloomington, Indiana University, 1971 (Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol. 61) and *Mongolia and the Mongols*, Vol. II, ed. by John R. Krueger. Translated from the Russian by William H. Dougherty. Bloomington, Indiana University 1977 (Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol. 61/2).

text of the *Abhidharmakośa*.[4] Rosenberg, who had studied in Berlin and Bonn under Professors Lange and Jacobi, was also involved in this project.[5] German scholars of Buddhology were in constant and close contact with their Russian colleagues, and even made use of the opportunity to publish their research material in the renowned Russian series Bibliotheca Buddhica.[6] This close connection between Western European and Eastern European scholars inevitably came to a stop when political pressure was extended to Russian sciences, as T.V. Yermakova points out in her article about the development of Russian Buddhology in the first two decades of this century.

In the following years, more than half a century, Russian scholars as well as their European and American colleagues only rarely had a chance to exchange research results or actually work together. Therefore the former close relationship, especially in Buddhological studies, of Western and Russian scholars, nowadays is nearly forgotten. The pioneering works of Russian Buddhologists, which have been written or translated into English, are still used as important reference books and are acknowledged as having prepared the ground on which Western Buddhology in general could develop and grow. The works of many a Russian scholar, which have never been translated into any Western European language, however, most often did not even come to the knowledge of their Western colleagues.

In the context of the situation outlined above this small book about the life and times of the Russian scholar O.O. Rosenberg pursues a twofold aim: first, and foremost, it wants to awaken the interest of the English-speaking scholar in the works of this Russian scholar, relatively unknown in Germany as well as in the

---

4 See F.I. Shcherbatskoj, *Tibetskij perevod Abhidharmakoçakarikah i Abhidharmakoçabhāsyam sochinenij Vasubandkhu (The Tibetan Translation of the Abhidharmakośakarikā and the Abhidharmakośabhāsyam from the Works of Vasubandhu)*, pt. I-II, Petrograd, 1917-1930 (Bibliotheca Buddhica, XX).

5 See *Aziatskij Muzei - Leningradskoe otdelenie instituta vostokovedeniya AN SSSR (The Asiatic Museum - the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR)*, Moscow 1972, p. 158. Mikhajlova, "Russian Buddhologist Otton Rosenberg (1888-1919)", in *Far Eastern Affairs*, 4, 1987, p. 79, also comments on this multinational project. Compare also the account of T.V. Yermakova in this issue, p. 7.

6 See, for example, Max Walleser, *Buddhapālita. Mūlamadhyamakavṛtti.* Hrsg. von Max Walleser, St. Petersburg 1913-1914. (Bibliotheca Buddhica, XVI); L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās (Mādhyamikasūtras) de Nāgārjuna avec la Prasannapadā Commentaire de Candrakīrti.* St. Petersburg, 1903-1913. (Bibliotheca Buddhica, IV); L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Madhyamakāvatāra par Candrakīrti.* Traduction tibétaine. St. Petersburg 1907-1912. (Bibliotheca Buddhica, IX).

English-speaking countries and also in Russia,[7] whose work about Buddhist philosophy can still be considered a milestone in Western Buddhology. Today his pioneering work can be considered relevant not only for Buddhology but also for the history of Buddhological studies. Buddhology, as it presents itself nowadays, has its foundation in the research carried out by Rosenberg and his contemporaries.[8] Therefore it is our aim to dedicate this small book to the memory of this brilliant, but unjustly forgotten scholar, to whom Buddhist studies not only in Russia, but also in Europe, owe so much. Secondly, we want to draw the reader's attention to the newly established research centers on Buddhology which have only recently been established in Russia. These groups, after quite a long interruption, are continuing the work the Russian Buddhologists so actively pursued at the turn of the century up to the late twenties. As the research of their predecessors proved to be of utmost importance for the development of Western Buddhology, so will in all probability contemporary Russian Buddhology enrich the ongoing Buddhological scholarly discussion. In the editors' opinion their research results can no longer be ignored by their colleagues in the English-speaking world. Russian Buddhological research is relatively unknown in the English-speaking countries because of the existing language barrier. Many scholars are not able to read Russian, and therefore the research carried out in that country often does not come to their knowledge. Thus this book aims at providing a "bridge of understanding" between English-speaking scholars and their Russian colleagues who mostly publish the results of their research in Russian.

The first two articles translated in this issue provide the necessary background information about the development of Buddhist studies in Tsarist Russia and the first years of Communist power. They also convey much information about the current research activities of contemporary Russian Buddhology. The third article contains for the first time an English rendering of Rosenberg's famous lecture "The World-View of Contemporary Buddhism in the Far East." In the fourth article of this volume John S. Barlow, one of the editors, presents an extended account of the

---

7 For instance, O.O. Rosenberg is not mentioned in Ts. D. Miliband, *Bibliograficheskij slovar' sovetskikh vostokovedov (Bibliographical Dictionary of Soviet Orientalists)* (Moscow 1977), whereas the information about Shcherbatskoj in this dictionary is quite abundant, see pp. 621-622. The reason could be that Rosenberg died in 1919, at the very beginning of the Soviet era.

8 See, for example, the comment of T.R.V. Murti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism. A Study of the Mādhyamika System*, London 1974 (1955), p. 68, evaluating the pioneering achievements of Rosenberg and his contemporaries in the study of the *Abhidharmakośa*.

life and fate of O.O. Rosenberg, based on his own research carried out in St. Petersburg and elsewhere. This account of the life of Rosenberg is followed by a short annotated bibliography of O.O. Rosenberg's writings, published and unpublished. In the bibliography the editors have listed the complete cited literature. The Russian titles of the works cited are provided with English translations of the titles in brackets. Although the titles mentioned have already been translated in the text, for the reader's convenience we have decided to give the English titles also in the bibliography. In this way the bibliography may be used as an independent information and reference source. An index, which contains all the proper names mentioned in the volume, concludes the book.

The editors hope that this small volume about the achievements of Russian Buddhology in the first decades of our century and continuing to the present will increase the interest of Western Buddhologists in the research carried out by their Russian colleagues, and stimulate further research in the history of Buddhological studies, both in Western Europe and Russia.

Bonn University
Harvard University
Spring, 1998

Acknowledgments

During the course of translating and editing the articles in this book, numerous persons were of indispensible help. In particular we should like to mention Mrs. Sibylle Barlow, without whose help in providing a "language bridge" between the two translators, the American John Barlow with his English background, and the German Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz with her Russian-German background, the task of translating the articles from Russian into English would have proven much more complicated and at times nearly impossible. We are also much indebted to Dr. Tatyana Yermakova and Dr. Valerij Rudoj of the Buddhology Group, Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg Branch, for their encouragement to carry out this project. Dr. Yermakova graciously allowed us to translate and publish a heretofore unpublished manuscript of hers. We are particulary grateful to Dr. Rudoj, Head of the Buddhology Group, for his valuable comments on an early version of the translation of Rosenberg's lecture.

Many different persons provided help during the research carried out about the life of Otto Ottonovich Rosenberg. The author, John S. Barlow, has to thank especially the Buddhology Group of the Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg Branch, for their hospitality and untiring helpfulness in all matters connected with Rosenberg. Dr. Yermakova, who earlier had found four letters written by Elfrida Rosenberg to Shcherbatskoj, graciously provided the author during his stay in St. Petersburg with this indispensible knowledge. Dr. Elena A. Ostrovskaya (Jr.) of the Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg, kindly translated these handwritten letters into English. Dr. Isolda Tsiperovich, of the Institute, was so kind as to give to the author the copy of a formerly unknown account of the last days of Rosenberg.

Professor Ants Meister of the Technical University of Tallinn, Estonia, very kindly provided important information about the family background of the Rosenbergs. Furthermore the author is indebted to him for the discovery and copy of the biographical account written by the pupil of Rosenberg, Baiev, which again provided additional information about Rosenberg's life and fate. Mrs. Sari Starr, of the Helsinki City Archives, kindly provided the author with new information about Elfrida Rosenberg.

We are very much indebted to Professor Dr. Klaus Sagaster, Institute of Central Asian Studies, University of Bonn, for generously providing us with material from his personal library about the History of Oriental Studies in the former USSR.

Last, but not least, we are indebted to Ms. Anna Arthur, of the Slavic Section, Widener Library, Harvard University, for bringing to our attention the most recent account on the life and works of Rosenberg, which was published in 1997.

Transliteration Scheme of the Cyrillic Alphabet

For the convenience of the English reader we have applied the following scheme for transliterating the Cyrillic script:

а = a	й = j	у = u	э = ė
б = b	к = k	ф = f	ю = yu
в = v	л = l	х = kh	я = ya
г = g	м = m	ц = ts	
д = d	н = n	ч = ch	
е = e	о = o	ш = sh	
ё = yo	п = p	щ = shch	
ж = zh	р = r	ъ = ’’	
з = z	с = s	ы = y	
и = i	т = t	ь = ’	

For the sake of consistency in the articles translated from Russian we have adhered to this transliteration system also in cases where the reader would rather expect a different transliteration. So the reader will find the name *Rosenberg* in the texts translated from Russian transliterated as *Rozenberg*, whereas in the Preface, the footnotes prepared by us and in the article about Rosenberg's life by J.S. Barlow, the generally known English form of his name, *Rosenberg*, is used.

The only exception to the transliteration scheme will be found in the transliteration of the name *Yermakova*, which, according to our transliteration system would be rendered as *Ermakova*. As, however, Dr. Yermakova is already known to the English reading audience, in order not to confuse readers her name is rendered in that way.

Otto O. Rozenberg in the Context of the Development of Russian Buddhology

TATYANA V. YERMAKOVA[1]

The theoretical legacy of the Russian Buddhologist O.O. Rozenberg (1888-1919), the most brilliant of the representatives of the school of Academician F.I. Shcherbatskoj, may attract the attention of English readers both for its scientific-historical and for its strictly Buddhological aspects. The few works of this scholar, who died early, laid down the definite result of the historical development of Russian Buddhology and reflected in abundance the theoretical possibilities of that conceptual approach towards Buddhism, which had been worked out by Academician F.I. Shcherbatskoj and rightly brought world-wide renown to his school.

The period of rapid and unusually successful development of Russian Buddhology from the beginning of the 20th century up to its third decade was preceded by a series of evolutional stages concerning the subject-matter and methods of Buddhological research, without an understanding of which it is impossible to understand the genesis of the theoretical innovations of Shcherbatskoj and his followers, and also the originality of the Russian national Buddhological school.

Russian Buddhology as a branch of the scientific study of religions originated in the second half of the 19th century within the framework of Central-Asian Oriental (philological and regional) studies. The necessity for research into the Buddhist spiritual tradition was recognized in Russian science due to the influence of historical and cultural factors of a geopolitical nature. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the boundaries of the Russian empire advanced very significantly in Asia and included regions populated by Buddhists — Buryats and Kalmyks. The schools and directions of Buddhism, generally, but with many reservations, called Lamaists, historically having become firmly established in these regions, were traditionally under the spiritual subjection of the Dalai Lama, the Buddhist hierarch of Tibet. Such a marginal location of the Russian Buddhist territories was considered by the Tsarist administration in the 19th century as fraught with instability and danger of separatism, and consequently demanding investigation and control. This aspect of the inner and foreign politics of the Russian Empire urgently demanded its own scientific provision of information about the functioning of the Central-Asian living Buddhist tradition.

The first such information was accumulated within the frame of Russian Mongolian

---

1 Translated from an unpublished manuscript prepared for this collection. See also: T.V. Yermakova, *Buddijskij mir glazami rossijskikh issledovatelej XIX-XXvv.* (*The Buddhist World as Viewed by Russian Researchers of the XIX-XX centuries*), St. Petersburg, Nauka, 1998. The notes to this article have been prepared by Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz.

studies and is connected with the work of O.M. Kovalevskij (1801-1878).[2] Kovalevskij as a philologist and Mongolist submitted the first standardized program for the study of the Mongolian language in higher educational institutions, in which above all the traditional Buddhist literary monuments were basically taken as most revealing for the understanding of the essence of Mongolian culture. Kovalevskij can also be considered the direct predecessor of Russian Buddhology because it was he who pointed out the importance of studying the Buddhist religious world-view for the understanding of Buddhism as a complete ideological totality. His monograph, *Buddijskaya kosmologiya. Uchenye zapiski, izdavaemye Imperatorskim Kazanskim universitetom* (*Buddhist Cosmology. Scholarly Records, published by the Imperial University of Kazan)* (1835-1837), was the first attempt to do research in that religious-mythological world-view, which was formed in the Central-Asian Buddhist tradition.

The publication of Kovalevskij's *Buddhist Cosmology* very much stimulated the representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church, who were interested in strengthening missionary work in the Buddhist regions of the Russian Empire, to study the Buddhist religious world-view. However, research into the cosmological aspect of the Central-Asian Buddhist tradition, undertaken by orthodox priests and educated representatives of circles close to the church in the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century (Archbishop Nil, I. Popov, Hierarch Mefodij, A.I. Vvedenskij, V.A. Kozhevnikov, and others) was aimed at the solution of ideological problems, such as proof of the pre-eminence of the Christian creed in comparison to Buddhism. Therefore these studies were lacking in scientific-historical concepts and did not adhere to the requirements of objectivity. Thus, despite the well-known wealth of the material and the observations from expeditions, the orthodox studies of Buddhist cosmology did not attain a status of scientific value. A theoretical and methodological development in this branch of Russian research into Buddhism practically did not take place.

The pre-Buddhological period in Russia (the third to sixth decade of the 19th century) was followed by a period of proper religious Buddhological studies of the Central-Asian synchronic Buddhist tradition, their most characteristic features being the application of sociological methods of inclusive and non-inclusive observation as well

---

2 Concerning Kovalevskij, see W. Kotwicz, *Jozef Kowalewski orientalista (1801-1878) ze wstepem Mariana Lewickiego. Bibligrafia opracowana przez Maria Kotwiczówna oraz niewydana korespondencja Kowalewskiego* (*The orientalist Jozef Kowalewski (1801-1878), with an introduction by Marian Lewicki. Bibliography prepared by Maria Kotwiczówna and unpublished correspondence by Kowalewski)*, Wroclaw 1948. See also Sh.B. Chimitdorzhiev (ed.), *Rossijskie mongolovedy (XVIII-nachalo XXvv.) (Russian Mongolists, 18th to Beginning of 20th Century)*, Ulan-Udė 1997, p. 24.

as the structurization and typologization of the observation-units. This period lasted until the first decade of the 20th century.

The first significant success of Russian Buddhology is closely connected with the name of A.M. Pozdneev (1851-1920). Pozdneev's main scientific legacy is summed up in his extensive multi-volume accounts of his journeys in the regions of a functioning living Buddhist (Lamaist) tradition. Only a part of this legacy was published by the author in the form of a monograph. The monograph *Ocherki byta buddijskikh monastyrej i buddijskogo dukhovenstva v Mongolii* (*Sketches of the Life of Buddhist Monasteries and Buddhist Clergy in Mongolia)* (St. Petersburg 1887)[3] represents a special religious study, carried out on the basis of sociological methods — non-inclusive observation and questioning of the representatives of the Buddhist tradition.

The objective of Pozdneev's study was to depict the mode of living ("everyday life") of the monasteries and the monks, whereas his theme was the reconstruction of "the beliefs of contemporary Buddhists", i.e. the living Buddhist tradition of the 19th century. According to its aim, Pozdneev's work had an openly declarative, applied character — to provide the Russian administration, for which "this information is far more necessary than even scientific findings about the historical course of the development of the Buddhist concepts" (Pozdneev), with information about living Buddhism.

Pozdneev's monograph, despite its predominantly descriptive character, even nowadays retains its scientific importance as a synchronic reconstruction of the living conditions of the Central-Asian Buddhist community (*saṅgha*).

Studies of the Central-Asian living Buddhist tradition, the basis of which was laid by Pozdneev, found their continuation due to the scientific expeditions of G.Ts. Tsybikov (1873-1930) and B.B. Baradijn (1878-1937).[4] Both of these researchers, Buryat by nationality, received a serious university education and a Buddhological training under the guidance of the leading professors of St. Petersburg University, A.M. Pozdneev, S.F. Ol'denburg and F.I. Shcherbatskoj. The necessity of studying Tibetan Buddhism,

---

3 This work was translated from the Russian by ALO RAUN and LINDA RAUN under the following title: A.M. POZDNEYEV, *Religion and Ritual in Society: Lamaist Buddhism in Late 19th-Century Mongolia*, ed. by JOHN R. KRUEGER. Publications of The Mongolia Society, Inc., Occasional Papers, No. 10, Bloomington, Ind., 1978.

4 The date of his death cannot be established without doubt. In the monograph *Aziatskij Muzej (The Asiatic Museum)*, Moscow 1972, p. 156, the date 1939 for his death is given. In the short biographical sketch of Baradijn in Sh.B. Chimitdorzhiev, *Rossijskie mongolovedy (Russian Mongolists)*, p.117, the authors (B. Tsibikov and G.N. Zayatuev) in the title give the date 1938, but on p. 120 set forth that Baradijn during the years of the Stalinist terror was defamed and fell victim to the Stalinist purges in 1937. In all probability he just vanished without anybody knowing what had actually befallen him.

which genetically and historically determined the much later subtraditions — the Mongolian, Buryat and Kalmyk, was very well recognized at an academic level. At the same time, Tibet, as the residence of the Dalai Lama, the spiritual leader of the Buddhists who were subjects of the Russian Empire, continued to interest the Tsarist administration with regard to its political-pragmatic and its social-ideological aspects. Nevertheless the possibility of a visit to Tibet by Russian secular scholars, that is by Europeans, in that period was excluded on the ground of its political and diplomatic character. These facts were taken into consideration in the preparation of Tsybikov's expedition, and later Baradijn's. In the first as well as in the second case the resolution was passed to work out a fictitious context and to apply the method of inclusive observation. Strictly speaking, the religious problems, which Tsybikov was expected to solve, were connected with the description of Tibetan Buddhist monasteries. Tsybikov regularly maintained an expeditionary journal, which after revising he later turned into the monograph *Buddist-palomnik u svyatyn' Tibeta (A Buddhist Pilgrim to Holy Tibet)* (1919). As a Buddhologist and historian of religion Tsybikov gave a decription of the history of the monasteries located on the route to Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, and its proximity, and traced in detail aspects of the social organization of the Tibetan Buddhist community. Tsybikov also presented a detailed account about the pecularities of the Tibetan temple-construction and the principal votive tablets from each of the monasteries he studied.

If the results of Tsybikov's expeditions were significant contributions to the description of Tibet's true Buddhist life, then the field study of B.B. Baradijn (1878-1937) represented in a strictly theoretical and methodological respect the enormous interest in the further development of Buddhology. Baradijn also visited Tibet in the disguise of a pilgrim in the years 1905-1907. He kept a research diary (see, in particular, his *Puteshestvie v Lavran* (Journey to Lavran)), but his monograph *Buddijskie monastyri (Buddhist Monasteries)*[5] (published only in 1926), presents itself not so much as a scholarly adaptation of his diary notes, as Pozdneev and Tsybikov did, but as an independent theoretical work.

Baradijn turned the attention to that most important circumstance for the researcher, namely, that during the process of field research into the living Buddhist tradition it is above all indispensable to study the monasteries. The monastery represents a refined form of the continuation of the Buddhist tradition in a particular historical-cultural region, whereas the life of Buddhist believers is qualitatively mediated through

---

5 B.B. Baradijn, *Buddijskie monastyri*. Reprinted in: "Orient." Al'manakh, vyp. I, St. Petersburg 1992.

ethnographic reality and not directly related to the attainment of purely religious goals. From the point of view of the research method Baradijn in his work also made an essential contribution to Buddhology, insofar as he introduced the so-called structured perception, as a result of which a typology of the Tibetan Buddhist monasteries was worked out.

The first stage of the formation of Russian Buddhology as a branch of the scientific study of religions covered the period from the seventh decade of the 19th century up to the first decade of the 20th century. At the beginning of this period the most important applied tasks of Russian Buddhology crystallized: its subject matter, method and selection of research topics. At this stage, field research into the Central-Asian Buddhist tradition of the Buddhist regions of Russia as well as in Mongolia and Tibet flourished. The end of the first stage is connected with the distinct theoretical realization of the indispensability of combining and mutually interposing the field research into the living Buddhist tradition and the basic study of the written monuments of Buddhist religious-philosophical thought.

With regard to the written legacy of Buddhism, scholars began the search for theoretical concepts and the interpretation of its fundamental directions. Parallel to this, the cultural-logical interpretation of Buddhist iconography set in. Russian Buddhology crossed over to a new period of its evolution.

V.P. Vasil'ev (1818-1900) first raised the question about the necessity of a historical-cultural approach towards the Buddhist written monuments. However, in the translation of Buddhist written monuments scholars were led by the so-called philological method, whereby the translation-principles of literary texts were transferred to texts of a religious-ideological content.

The philological method exclusively dominated the studies of the written monuments of the Mediterranean classical antiquity until the first decade of the 20th century. The Buddhologists of the 19th century transferred this method to the field of study of Buddhist religious-ideological and religious-philosophical documents. Although Vasil'ev also did not succeed in overcoming this method in his own studies, he nevertheless, on a theoretical and methodological level, distinctly realized the basic difference of Buddhist didactic literature from the literary written legacy. Vasil'ev intended to compile a transregional Buddhist terminological dictionary, which would contribute to an understanding of Buddhism as a complete world-view system. Especially in his main work *Buddizm, ego dogmaty, istoriya i literatura (Buddhism, Its Dogmas, History and*

Literature) (1857),[6] Vasil'ev recommended the study of Buddhism as a religious system.

The further development of the religious studies' problematics in Buddhology is connected with the name of the Orientalist and Indologist I.P. Minaev (1840-1890). Minaev paid great attention to the study of the Pāli tradition in Buddhism, which Western European researchers considered not only the oldest tradition, but also the only authentic one. With the publication in 1887 of his monograph *Buddizm: issledovaniya i materialy (Buddhism: Studies and Materials)*, Minaev himself entered into polemics with his Western European colleagues, who saw in the Pāli tradition, which prevailed in Ceylon and subsequently spread to a number of Southeast Asian countries (especially to Burma), the standard of Buddhism, its original form.

As a scholar of religious studies, Minaev particularly did research into the history of Buddhist temples and demonstrated in his monograph that this history should not be studied in analogy with the process of the development of Christianity, because the Buddhism of antiquity and the early Middle Ages did not know a division between orthodoxy and sects. Beyond school-polemics the Buddhist temples brought about an exegetical understanding in the interpretation of the doctrines and determined the development of pluralistic subtraditions in Buddhism.

Also of interest to Minaev was a comparison of the elements of the early ritual customs of the Buddhist religion, which were written down in Pāli canonical literature. With respect to their content they were analogous to the fragments of the artistic decoration of the early architectural constructions. Minaev was the first to point out the fundamental parallelism existing between the religious dogmas of Buddhist doctrine and the symbolism and subject matter of Buddhist art (the cult nature of Buddhist sculpture). Minaev considered the task of studying the Buddhist religious community (saṅgha) as a separate topic within the study of religions.

S.F. Ol'denburg (1863-1934), an Indologist with a broad knowledge, as a student of Minaev inherited and further developed a great many of his teacher's Buddhological ideas. He continued the comparative study of examples of Buddhist art and the religious-doctrinal dogmas of Buddhism, and of the symbolism and the subject matter of the ritual customs, which are extant in Buddhist sculpture. For the first time he attempted to outline a classification of the archeological finds in the field of the fine arts which were engendered by Buddhism. To him occurred the idea of the fundamental propagandist role of Buddhist interpretative art.

---

6 This work was translated into German by A. Schiefner, St. Petersburg 1860, under the title *Der Buddhismus, seine Dogmen, Geschichte und Literatur, 1. Teil: Allgemeine Übersicht.*

Thus we have tried to outline the path of the development of Russian Buddhology, from its origins down to the period of the school of F.I. Shcherbatskoj, during which the theoretical and methodological problems were explicitly laid down and ultimately solved in a brilliant way.

F.I. Shcherbatskoj entered the history of science mainly as a researcher of Buddhist philosophical scriptures. Already his first large monograph, *Teoriya poznaniya i logika po ucheniyu pozdnejshikh buddistov* (*The Theory of Knowledge and Logic according to the Teachings of the Later Buddhists*) (part I, 1903, part II, 1909) contributed to the discovery of the immensely rich written heritage of Buddhism of which the contents were typologically correlated with European philosophical treatises and required specific historical and philosophical methods of study. Shcherbatskoj, in his pursuit of criteria for the identification of Buddhist philosophical treatises, turned to the ideas of A.I. Vvedenskij and I.I. Lapshin, the most outstanding of Russian academic Neokantianists, and already on this basis he identified the subject matter of Buddhist philosophy as a "Critique of Practical Reason". This inference, already set forth by Shcherbatskoj in his first monograph, radically changed the view of Buddhologists all over the world on the history of Buddhist religious-philosophical thought.

In relation to the study of religions, Shcherbatskoj rejected the paradigm prevailing in Western European scholarship and promoted by German classical philosophy, namely, that the characteristics of religion are the existence of a god, the teachings about the soul and free will as the basis of religious morality. Shcherbatskoj showed that these three characteristics do not apply to Buddhism, which nonetheless is a world religion. This contribution of Shcherbatskoj to the study of religions dealt a decisive blow to the Eurocentric conceptions, and entailed a change in the theoretical and methodological approach to the analysis of the phenomenon of religious life in the East.

In the years 1910-1917 Shcherbatskoj planned an international research project of the most basic religious-philosophical treatise of Buddhism — "Encyclopedia of the Abhidharma" (Vasubandhu, 4th century). Just in this period, fundamental ideas were also advanced for a combined St. Petersburg Buddhological school, the actual existence of which could be spoken of from the moment of publishing the project (1917). Therefore the research project "Encyclopedia of the Abhidharma" provided the boundary which divided the first evolutional stage of Russian Buddhology from its second stage.

The publication in 1918 of O.O. Rozenberg's (1888-1919) monograph *Problemy Buddijskoj Filosofii (Problems of Buddhist Philosophy)* permits one to say that Buddhology in Russia had become in the full sense of the word a branch of the

scientific study of religions. In this work, Rozenberg demonstrated the unacceptability of Eurocentrism as a methodological device, showing that the sources of Buddhist culture, of Buddhist religious-philosophical thought are genetically independent, that Buddhism as a religion is distinctive and can neither be studied by analogy with Christianity nor as a pagan religion, i.e. as a historically less mature form of spiritual life in human society. Rozenberg by argument, pointing out the fundamentally different structure of the subject matter of Buddhist philosophy, rejected the attempt to study Buddhist religious-philosophical thought in accordance with historical-philosophical classifications developed in the academic tradition of classical German philosophy. Rozenberg was the first Buddhologist to throw light on the role of the philosophical treatises, which were decisive for an understanding of the essence of Buddhist religious doctrine. According to Rozenberg the systematization and logical discursive foundation of Buddhism as an integral religious world-view is given in exactly these treatises, and not in the instructions and sermons (sūtras). Another most important discovery of Rozenberg consisted in the disclosure of the diachronic (historical) breach between the two levels of functioning Buddhism, namely as a religious-philosophical refined tradition and as a folk-religion. In his research and discoveries Rozenberg effected a qualitative transition from the fragmentary results of his scientific predecessors to an integral theoretical vision of the development of a Buddhist religious ideological complex.

After his death Rozenberg's ideas were generalized in the subsequent work of Shcherbatskoj.

Thus, the St. Petersburg Buddhological school appeared as the sum of the preceding development of Buddhology in Russia, qualitatively transforming the partial achievements of the Russian scholars into a complete theoretical and methodological position that corresponded to the aim of transforming this field of Oriental studies into the concrete discipline of religious studies.

Naturally the question about the further fate of F.I. Shcherbatskoj's school after the death of O.O. Rozenberg arises. The history of this school is inseparably linked with the political history of Russia in the 20th century. Owing to the world-wide reputation and scientific authority of F.I. Shcherbatskoj in the first decades of Soviet power, it was possible to preserve Buddhological research and furthermore to realize the project of organizing an institute for the study of Buddhist culture. It is characteristic that even

the explanatory note to the project[7] contains a general conceptual elaboration of the idea of Buddhist culture as typologically comparable to European culture, in which a distinctive course of Russian Buddhology, namely its anti-Eurocentrism, was expressed. The authors of the note demonstrate the necessity for the support of the written monuments in Buddhological research, they emphasize the importance of studying the monuments of Buddhist thought, preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translations, with the aim of reconstructing a complete picture of Buddhist spiritual culture.

The Institute of Buddhist Culture was actually formed in October 1928 as an independent subdivision of the Academy of Sciences. In the reports of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR the reports of the Institute of Buddhist Culture were published as a separate part. The report for the year 1928 contains interesting information on the structure and the directions of the activity of the Institute, under an "Explanatory note":

"Founded in the current year, the Institute of Buddhist Culture began work on October first. Its director is Academician F.I. Shcherbatskoj, its acting academic secretary A.I. Vostrikov. The Institute aims at the comprehensive study of Buddhist culture and its forms, in the process of their historical evolution as well as in their present condition, in different countries and among different peoples. In view of the diversity and complexity of the tasks facing the Institute and demanding from its scientific personnel the knowledge of almost all the principal languages of Central and South Asia as well as the Far East, the Institute is divided into four sections: (1) the section on Tibet, (2) the section on China and Japan, (3) the section on Mongolia and (4) the section on India. For each section there is a permanently employed scientific collaborator in the function of a scientific secretary of the respective section. In the makeup of the Institute a scientific committee consisting of 24 specialists for questions on Buddhist culture is installed (12 specialists are from the USSR and 12 from the West and the East). From the moment of its formation the Institute is undertaking measures to establish scientific relations, both in the USSR and abroad, with other institutions working in closely related fields. Regular scholarly correspondence with the Scientific Committee of the Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Republic, with the Mongolian Scientific Committee, with the Buddhist Academy in China, with the Institute for the Study of Buddhism in Heidelberg and so on, is

---

7 F.I. Shcherbatskoj, S.F. Ol'denburg, and M.I. Tubyanskij, "Institut izucheniya buddijskoj kul'tury. Obyasnitel'naya zapiska k proektu uchrezhdeniya pri Akademii nauk SSSR Instituta izucheniya buddijskoj kul'tury" ("The Institute for the Study of Buddhist Culture. Explanatory Note to the Project of the Foundation of the Institute for the Study of Buddhist Culture by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR"). Published in: *Izvestiya AN SSSR (Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR)*, ser. VI, vol. XXI, 1927, No. 18, pp. 1701-1704.

going on, as well as with individual scholars in Eastern and Western countries..." (*Otchet o deyatel'nosti AN SSSR za 1928 g. I. Obshchij otchet.* Leningrad, p. 88).[8]

Thus, the openness of the Russian Buddhological Association towards international professional contacts, which was established already in 1897 in the concept of the publication of the series "Bibliotheca Buddhica" from the Russian Academy of Sciences, found its reflection also in the activity of the Institute. And so, in 1928, Academician F.I. Shcherbatskoj was sent to Heidelberg to the inauguration of the Society for the Study of Buddhism, which selected him as a member of its council. There, F.I. Shcherbatskoj gave an introductory speech about the Institute and reached an agreement about the coordination of research at the Institute and at this society (see: *Otchet o deyatel'nosti AN SSSR za 1928 g. II. Otchet o nauchnykh komandirovkakh i ėkspeditsiyakh,* p. 6).[9] The most important original text of Buddhist religious-philosophical thought, the complex analysis "Encyclopedia of Abhidharma" by Vasubandhu, became a constant subject for the Institute. The Institute of Buddhist Culture worked fruitfully as an independent subdivision up to 1930, when the Institute of Oriental Studies was founded into which it was incorporated with the status of an Indo-Tibetan Council. Gradually Buddhological projects were curtailed for reasons of a non-scholarly nature, and the extensive scientific intentions of the collaborators of the Institute were not to be fulfilled. In the period of the "Great [Stalinist] Terror", the whole staff of the Institute of Buddhist Culture, with the exception of F.I. Shcherbatskoj, was subjected to illegal reprisals and some were even killed.

The tradition of the translation and comprehensive historical, philosophical and cultural-logical study of the "Encyclopedia of Abhidharma" has now been revived by V.I. Rudoj and E.P. Ostrovskaya from the Buddhological Group of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Group leader: V.I. Rudoj). The theoretical results of this research are reflected in the following publications: *Vasubandkhu. Abkhidkharmakosha. Razdel I. Analiz po klassam ėlementov. Perevod s sanskrita, vvedenie, kommentarij, istoriko-filosofskoe issledovanie V.I. Rudogo. Moskva, 1990. Vasubandkhu. Abkhidkharmakosha. Razdel III. Uchenie o mire. Perevod s sanskrita, vvedenie, kommentarij i istoriko-filosofskoe issledovanie E.P. Ostrovskoj*

---

8 *Report on the Activity of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR for the year 1928. I. General report.*

9 *Report on the Activity of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR for the Year 1928. II. Report on Scientific Visits and Expeditions.*

i V.I. Rudogo. St. Peterburg, Andreev i synov'ya, 1994.[10] The demand by Russian Orientalists for the necessity of a comprehensive study of Buddhist culture, which found its organizational consolidation in the project of the Institute of Buddhist Culture, is extremely popular in present-day Russia.

In Russian society of the post-communist period the process of the renaissance of Buddhism is ongoing, not only in the traditional Buddhist regions of the Russian Federation (Buryatia, Kalmykia, Tuva), but also in Moscow and St. Petersburg. The historical and cultural nature of this process is intrinsically contradictory in so far as the attempt was made to revive traditional values in an actively changing society. For just this reason research into the fundamental principles of Buddhist culture is actually not only done in its theoretical, culturological, but also in its applied aspect.

In the Buddhological Group of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the project "Fundamental Principles of Buddhist Culture" is realized (concerning the programme of the Group see: Rudoj, V.I., *Problemnye buddologicheskie issledovaniya v LO IV AN SSSR — Buddizm. Problemy istorii, kul'tury, sovremennosti.* Moskva, 1990, pp. 31-44).[11] At present the main direction of the group's activity is connected with multidisciplinary research into the traditional ideologies of the countries of the Asian-Pacific Belt.

Rudoj has worked out three principles of a theoretical approach towards an analysis of the traditional ideologies of the countries of the Asian-Pacific Belt: (1) the Buddhist religious-philosophical tradition is a systematizing factor, conditioning the value-semantic consistency of the cultures of the Asian-Pacific Belt; (2) research into the Indo-Buddhist tradition serves as a key for the understanding of the process of the dissemination of Buddhism in the countries of the Asian-Pacific Belt; (3) the cultural nucleus in the countries of the Asian-Pacific Belt has been shaped in the process of the historical dialogue between the Indo-Buddhist tradition and the local ideological substrate (Daoism, Confucianism, Animism). The concrete application of these principles allowed V.I. Rudoj and his closest colleagues to complete a number of works which included a wide range of these problems. The most representative of them are the following: the research project "Categories of Buddhist Culture" (Russian

---

10 *Vasubandhu. Abhidharmakośa. Part I. Analysis according to the Classes of Elements. Translation from the Sanskrit, Introduction, Commentary, Historical-philosophical Study by V.I. Rudoj. Moscow 1990; Vasubandhu. Abhidharmakośa. Part III. The Teaching about the World. Translation from the Sanskrit, Introduction, Commentary and Historical-philosophical Study by E.P. Ostrovskaya and V.I. Rudoj.* Saint Petersburg, Andreev and Sons, 1994.

11 *Problem-oriented Buddhological Research in the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. — Buddhism. Problems of History, Culture and Contemporaneity.* Moscow 1990, pp. 31-44.

Humanitarian Scientific Fund, 1994-1997, project leader V.I. Rudoj);[12] the research project "Cosmos and Karma: Prolegomena towards the Study of the Philosophy of the Abhidharma" (Russian Humanitarian Scientific Fund, 1997, project leader E. P. Ostrovakaya);[13] T.V. Yermakova, *The Buddhist World as Viewed by Russian Researchers of the XIX-XX centuries,*[14] St. Petersburg, Nauka, 1998; *Gung thang bstan pa'i sgron me.*[15] Instruction in the Method of Studying the Texts of the Sūtras and Tantras. Introduction, Translation from the Tibetan and Mongolian, Commentary and explanation by E.A. Ostrovskaya (Jr.), Moscow, Ladomir, 1997;[16] E.A. Ostrovskaya (Jr.), *The Contemporary Secular Buddhist Community of St. Petersburg: A Cultural-Anthropological Study,*[17] St. Petersburg, 1998, manuscript; M.E. Yermakov, *Hui-jiao. The Lives of Eminent Monks (Gaoseng Zhuan).* Translation from the Chinese, Commentary and Index. Vol. I (Part I: Translators).[18] Moscow, Nauka, 1991; M.E. Yermakov, *The World of Chinese Buddhism.*[19] St. Petersburg, Andreev and Sons, 1994.

The publication of Rozenberg's lecture, which appears here in English translation for the first time, makes it possible for English readers to open a bright page of the history of Russian research into Buddhism. The selection of just this work for translation appears to be especially fruitful, because in this lecture the fundamental ideas of Rozenberg's creative work are set down, which were earlier formulated in his basic work "Problems of Buddhist Philosophy". At the same time, Rozenberg's lecture is representative of the renaissance of the methodological approach of the St. Petersburg school of Buddhology to Buddhist spiritual culture.

---

12 "Kategorii buddijskoj kul'tury" (Rossijskij gumanitarnyj nauchnyj fond, 1994-1997).

13 "Kosmos i karma: prolegomeny k izucheniyu filosofii Abkhidkharmy" (Rossijskij gumanitarnyj nauchnyj fond, 1997).

14 *Buddijskij mir glazami rossijskikh issledovatelej XIX-XXvv.*

15 Here the correct transliteration from the Tibetan is given, whereas in the transliteration of the Russian title in n. 16 the Russian transcription of the Tibetan name is transliterated. [Note by the translator K.K.-P.]

16 *Guntan Danbi Donme. Obuchenie metodu issledovaniya tekstov sutr i tantr.* Vvedenie, perevod s tibetskogo i mongol'skogo, kommentarij i issledovanie E.A. Ostrovskoj-mladshej. Moskva, Ladomir, 1997.

17 E.A. Ostrovskaya-mladshaya, *Sovremennye sekulyarnye buddijskie obshchiny Sankt-Peterburga: kul'turno-antropologicheskoe issledovanie.*

18 M. E. Yermakov, *Hui-jiao. Zhizneopisaniya dostojnykh monakhov (Gaosėng Zhuan).* Perevod s kitajskogo, kommentarij i ukazateli. T. I (Razdel I: Perevodchiki).

19 M.E. Yermakov, *Mir kitajskogo buddizma.*

The First Buddhist Exposition in Petersburg (1919)[1]

TATYANA V. YERMAKOVA[2]

The exposition of Buddhist cult objects, organized in Petersburg, and the lectures read at the exposition by eminent scholars, undoubtedly presented not only an outstanding episode of the history of Russian Oriental studies, but also an example of a deep commitment to the professional and moral obligation of the scholar, displayed under the extremely difficult circumstances of the socio-political situation in the first years of Soviet power.

In recent years, the republication of parts of the printed material from the exposition has been undertaken. Thus, the lecture by F.I. Shcherbatskoj, "Filosofskoe uchenie buddizma" ("The Philosophical Teaching of Buddhism"), St. Peterburg 1919, has been reprinted in the anthology *Vostok-Zapad (East-West)*, vyp. 4, Moscow 1989, the lecture by S.F. Ol'denburg, "Zhizn' Buddy, indijskogo uchitelya zhizni" ("The Life of Buddha, Indian Teacher of Life"), has been reprinted in the journal *Nauka i religiya (Science and Religion)* (1990), and O.O. Rozenberg's "O mirosozertsanii sovremennogo buddizma na Dal'nem Vostoke" ("The World-View of Buddhism in the Far East") St. Petersburg 1919, appeared in *Trudy po buddizmu (Works on Buddhism)* (1991),[3] all of which is indicative of an explicit interest in the topic of the lectures. At the same time, after 1972, when an article by Academician N.I. Konrad, "O F.I. Shcherbatskom" ("On F.I. Shcherbatskoj"), in the collection *Indijskaya kul'tura i buddizm (Indian Culture and Buddhism)* (Moscow 1972), was published, in which the first Buddhist exposition was mentioned, historians of Oriental studies did not analyse this remarkable deed of Russian scholarship and culture.

Here we attempt to re-establish, as far as possible, a historical outline of the execution of the exposition. In an accompanying article we make available to the reader the text of one of the lectures read at the exposition which has previously not been available in English, O.O. Rozenberg's "The World-View of Buddhism in the Far East." A direct factual basis for the study of the social context and the circumstances of the

---

1 Officially in 1919 the city was named Petrograd, but in a number of books the old name was retained. The intelligentsia also did not dismiss its usage. In any case, in all of the printed material for the exposition, the name Petersburg, to which we will also adhere, was retained.

2 Translated from T.V. Yermakova, "Pervaya buddijskaya vystavka v Peterburge", in: E.P. Ostrovskaya, V.I. Rudoj (eds.), *Buddijskij vsglyad na mir (The Buddhist Outlook on the World)*, St. Petersburg 1994 (Seriya vostochnoj literatury "mudrost' vekov"), pp. 392-397. The footnotes in the English translation appear with new numbering.

3 O.O. Rozenberg, *Trudy po buddizmu*, Moskva, Nauka, 1991, pp. 18-42.

organizaton of the exposition is scanty, but some evidence can be gathered from preserved documents and sources of a memoir character.

Scientific activities of the Academy in 1919 fell within the section of the People's Commissariat for Education, which had to approve the estimates for carrying out research and working plans. Scholars in the humanities were assigned the task of recording the historical, scientific and cultural values of Russia in the years of the civil war and foreign intervention.[4]

It should be noted that scholars of the Academy did not participate in actions of sabotage which were undertaken by a part of the intelligentsia in November 1917 — January 1918.[5] In February 1918, an extraordinary general meeting of the Academy of Sciences took place, at which the position of scholars on collaboration with the new government was officially declared. Practical considerations also played a role in this decision. In the case of refusal of collaboration the material-technical base of the Academy would undoubtedly have proved to be untenable for the scholars. This motive can be clearly traced back, in particular, in the letter written by Academician A.N. Krylov to Academician P.P. Lazarev: "...it is necessary to strive toward the end that science occupies its due position; and this is most simply achieved by mutual assistance and not avoidance. It seems that now even the Academy comes to that — it awaits only a plausible pretext so as really to 'preserve innocence and gain capital'."[6] Not the least role in the choice of the Aademy's course was played by its permanent secretary, Academician S.F. Ol'denburg, utilizing his great authority in the scientific community. Researchers have thrown light in detail on the history of S.F. Ol'denburg's acquaintance with V.I. Lenin, about whose conversations documents survive. Well known are some of Ol'denburg's exalted opinions both about the leader of the revolution and the pathos of the actual situation.[7]

As an outstanding organizer of science, S.F. Ol'denburg took upon himself the welfare of the intelligentsia of the humanities, and carried on his large educational campaign with officials of the new government about the necessity of establishing for scholars conditions for normal creative activity. His absolute interest in this plan is apparent in

---

4 See *Dokumenty po istorii Akademii Nauk SSSR. 1917-1925 (Documents on the History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.* 1917-1925), Moskva 1986, p. 12.

5 *op. cit.*, p. 5.

6 *op. cit.*, p. 27.

7 See Primyakov, E.M., *Vostokovedenie na rubezhe dvukh epokh. — Sergej Fedorovich Ol'denburg (Oriental Studies at the Turn of Two Epochs - Sergei Fedorovich Ol'denburg)*, Moskva 1986, p. 15; Basiyants, A.P., "Dve vstrechi S.F. Ol'denburga s V.I. Leninym i razvitie sovetskogo vostokovedeniya" ("Two Meetings of S.F. Ol'denburg with V.I. Lenin and the Development of Soviet Oriental Studies"), ibid., pp. 21-29.

his letter of October 8th, 1918, to the People's Commissar for Education, A.V. Lunacharskij, in which Ol'denburg substantiated, in particular, the importance of science for the task of the education of the people's masses: "The Academy nonetheless thinks that the government and the authorities, in the interest of the present and the future of the country, should undertake measures to insure that scientific work will in general be possible, for without it, the springs of education will dry up: the urgent task of improving the education of the masses, for too long a time deprived of it, will not be performed without the support of the scientific and cultural workers. Meanwhile we observe that their numbers dwindle with each day — they either die of exhaustion, or fall ill, or, to save their lives, flee. It is necessary to take immediate measures so as to stop this irretrievable destruction of the intellectual strength of the country."[8]

As director of the Asiatic Museum,[9] S.F. Ol'denburg undertook every possible measure to retain his funds and continue scientific activity which, under the conditions of 1919, was not easy — the Russian scientific community was practically deprived of relations with scholars of other countries, and suffered from the lack of scientific literature[10] as well as from the precarious living conditions.

In this period, S.F. Ol'denburg cooperated in many committees of the People's Commissariat for Education on the coordination of scientific work with educational activities — especially in the Oriental Editorial Office of World Literature[11] and the

---

8 *Dokumenty po istorii Akademii Nauk SSSR (Documents on the History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR)*, p. 100.

9 Asiatic Museum (AM) of the Academy of Sciences (now St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences). Founded in St. Petersburg in 1818. First curator Academician Kh.D. Fren. His initial collection was comprised of coins and oriental curiosities brought back by travellers. Henceforth the Asiatic Museum has become the most important collection of manuscripts in various oriental languages, known all over the world as a center of Oriental studies, at which both custodial and research work is carried out.
S.F. Ol'denburg was director of the Asiatic Museum from 1916 until his death (1934). In 1930, the Asiatic Museum became the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR; for further details see *Aziatskij muzej (The Asiatic Museum)*, Moscow, 1972.

10 A typical example from the field of exact sciences, but beautifully illustrating the situation is the following letter from 1920 (!) to a colleague at the Optical Institute at Leiden University: "...we do not have literature from the beginning of 1917. A colleague at the Optical Institute very much wishes you to announce by radio what is done on this question outside Russia: to Petrograd, the University, Rozhdestvenskij. ... Greetings from the physicists of Petrograd." (*Dokumenty po istorii AN SSSR [Documents on the History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR]*, p. 155).

11 Specific episodes of this activity are recorded in the "dnevniki" ("Diaries") of K.I. Chukovskij, in: *Novyj mir (New World)*, 1990, No. 7, 8, 9). ("Diaries", for all their subjectivity, provide a valuable source, reflecting the atmosphere of the life of the creative intelligentsia in the first years of Soviet power.)
In particular, K.I. Chukovskij gives a far from conventional portrait of S.F. Ol'denburg as a man who curried favor with the new government and its representatives, for example, with M.

Editorial Board for the Museum section in which he occupied the post of chairman. In the business documents of the Asiatic Museum, a letter is preserved from the travel section of the Palace of Arts (now the Hermitage Museum), addressed to the Iranist F.A. Rozenberg, who in his capacity as a representative of the Asiatic Museum in the museum department of the People's Commissariat for Education, coordinated the participation of the Asiatic Museum in educational activities. In particular, in this letter a plan is communicated for the publication of popular scientific essays on monuments of culture, which were kept in the Petersburg museums. These essays were intended to be published in two series — for readers with high school education, and for those who were "only literate". The subject matter of the essays was to be "Buddha", "How to learn to read Hieroglyphs", "Mummies", "A Child's Portrait in Roman Culture", "Burial Mounds".[12] We were not successful in discovering documentary evidence about the results of this undertaking, but the fact itself is sufficiently informative at the level of outlining the context of carrying out the Buddhist Exposition: the scholars were offered collaboration in matters of education, that is, the possibility to objectify the results of their work, to join the ranks in the solution of the social problems.

The plan of carrying out the Buddhist Exposition in St. Petersburg may, in fact, have been conceived in Paris at the 1913 Exhibition of Buddhist Art (at the Cernuschi Museum). Academician S.F. Ol'denburg was officially sent by the Russian Academy of Sciences to this exhibition, afterwards submitting a detailed report at the meeting of the Historico-Philological Department of the Academy on 10 April, 1913.[13] One of

---

Gorkij, as a rather superficial investigator (see *Novyj mir*, No. 7, 1990, p. 158). We presume that the subjectivity of this evaluation was influenced by the fact that K.I. Chukovskij did not possess the necessary expert aptitude to portray the scholar Ol'denburg. As for "currying favor" — it is natural that Ol'denburg, as a representative of the old Academy and as Minister of Education in the Provisional government, would have been obliged, in an atmosphere of revolutionary terror, to conduct himself in such a way as to "compensate" for his social origins. Incidentally, K.I. Chukovskij, as well as other representatives of the humanities and free-lance professions, as is clear from his diaries, actively occupied themselves with lecturing activities for pay and for the purpose of affirming their loyalty. Moreover, the themes of the lectures were very diverse. Thus, Chukovskij writes: "...I am studying the Bylinas, since...I have a lecture about the Bylinas in the Baltic fleet" (*Novyj mir*, no. 7, 1990, p. 172). From the text of the "Diaries" it is obvious that different lectures could be read every day (ibid., p. 172). This eye-witness evidence helps to put the First Buddhist Exposition and its lectures in the context of the time.

12 See *Arkhivy Akademii Nauk (Archives of the Academy of Sciences)*, St. Petersburg branch, Fond 152, subdivision 1a, item 64, leaf 41 (kept in the *Arkhivy Vostokovedeniya [Archives of Oriental Studies]*, St. Petersburg branch, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences).

13 See S.F. Ol'denburg, "Otchet o komandirovke na vystavku po buddijskomu iskusstvu v Parizh" ("Report of the Official Mission to the Paris Exhibition of Buddhist Art"), in: *Izvestiya Akademii nauk (Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences)*, 1913, pp. 377-382.

the initiators of the Paris Exhibition was V.V. Golubev[14] who had already in 1912 organized an exhibition of ancient Chinese paintings, which had met with great success.

S.F. Ol'denburg noted in his report that the Paris Buddhist Exhibition illustrated the idea of the ideological unity of Buddhist art in all the countries to which it had spread. Exhibits were arranged according to regional principles, and included Buddhist art of India (chiefly in photographs made by V.V. Golubev in Ajantā, with the exception of objects from Gandhāra), Nepal, Indonesia, Japan and China. Central Asian Buddhism was not represented, since the collection gathered by Pelliot was exhibited at the Louvre. Tibetan Buddhist art, according to the report of S.F. Ol'denburg, was only modestly represented, owing to the small number of such objects in Paris.

As appears from the text of his report, S.F. Ol'denburg in the course of his description compared the European with the Russian collections of Buddhist cult objects, and noted the results and plans of his European colleagues in the matter of collecting objects of Buddhist art and their study. Thus, he mentions the idea of Prof. Pelliot to prepare for publication the albums of the material from the library of Doucet, in particular the photographs of the Dunhuang frescoes.

In his survey essay "Pervaya buddijskaya vystavka v Peterburge" ("The First Buddhist Exposition in St. Petersburg"), S.F. Ol'denburg enumerates the exhibits at the Exposition, staged at the Municipal Museum. The regional principle of their selection and display as well as the combination of the original and photograph reproductions remind one of the Paris Exhibition.

From an earlier (1914) article by S.F. Ol'denburg, "Materialy po buddijskoj ikonografii Khara-Khoto" ("Materials on the Buddhist Iconography of Hara-Hoto") it is possible to identify a number of exhibits at the Exposition that are mentioned in the survey essay: these are the portrayal of the Lord of Healing (No. 12 from the collection of P.K. Kozlov), Avalokiteśvara (No. 35), the eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara (No. 38), Amitābha in the Paradise of Sukhāvatī (No. 31), a hungry ghost (Preta) (No. 84).[15]

---

14 V.V. Golubev (1878-1945) — artist, traveller, collector of objects of Eastern art. Born in Russia, he lived and worked in Paris. He studied the Buddhist artistic culture, especially the cave-temple complex of Ajanta (India). Golubev's photographs of the frescoes and sculptures of Ajanta were shown at the exhibition of Buddhist art in Paris 1913. A part of these photographs were given to the Russian Academy of Sciences. In Paris V.V. Golubev edited and illustrated the series "Classics of the East".

15 See S.F. Ol'denburg, "Materialy po buddijskoj ikonografii Khara-khoto" ("Materials on the Buddhist Iconography of Hara-Hoto"), in: *Materialy po ètnografii Rossii* (*Materials on the Ethnography of Russia)*, Vol. 2, St. Petersburg, 1914, pp. 26-28, 39-40, 42-43, 36-37, 66.

A comparison of the "Report..." with the survey essay enables one to propound some differences between European and Russian collections of Buddhist art which resulted from the geography of the travels of the European and Russian explorers, and more generally, by the fundamental evaluation of Buddhist art and its significance for the understanding of Buddhist culture and its world-view.

The first Buddhist exposition can be defined as a complex scholarly-educational undertaking, constructed on a single plan, with the aim to cast light particularly upon the ideological aspects of Buddhism in the contents of its lectures and to show in the representation cult objects, which for the faithful Buddhist symbolized his world-conception.[16] This idea was magnificently realized in the selection of the exhibits, among which figured original works of Buddhist art as well as photographs of temple complexes, frescoes and statues.[17] This was not only an exposition of Buddhist art, but also a representation of the Buddhist world-view as manifested in its cult objects.

The expository conception of the exposition was clearly made explicit by S.F. Ol'denburg so as to give the viewer the necessary information about the Buddhist religion, for which it is necessary to know how to view the Buddhist "temples and holy pictures."[18]

The combination in one undertaking of an exposition and a cycle of lectures was actually a characteristic feature of the educational organization and, indeed, of scientific work at that time. S.F. Ol'denburg, summarizing the experiences of the Academy of Sciences in the years 1917-1919, noted that printed material of the Academy in those years was practically non-existent and scholars spontaneously chose the lecture form for the exposition of their scientific results as appropriate for the circumstances.[19]

The lectures of the most eminent Buddhologists at the Exposition were published in the same year, 1919, owing to the great interest of the public in this undertaking, and to the success of the Exposition.[20]

---

16 Exhibits for the Exposition were staged at the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, at the Russian Museum (section of Buddhism and the Far East of the Department for the Ethnography of Siberia and the Far East), and at the Asiatic Museum.

17 For a list of exhibits see S.F. Ol'denburg, *Pervaya buddijskaya vystavka v Peterburge (First Buddhist Exposition in Petersburg)*, St. Petersburg 1919.

18 Ibid.

19 See *Dokumenty po istorii AN SSSR (Documents on the History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR)*, pp. 152-153.

20 See N.I. Konrad, "O Fedore Ippolitoviche Shcherbatskom" ("On Fedor Ippolitovich Shcherbatskoj"), in: *Indijskaya kul'tura i buddizm* (*Indian Culture and Buddhism*), Moskva, 1972, p. 6.

[Each lecture was published as a separate booklet in Petrograd 1919, compare *Aziatskij muzej*

From among the available original texts of the lectures, of F.I. Shcherbatskoj, O.O. Rozenberg, B.Ya. Vladimirtsov and S.F. Ol'denburg, the text of one, that of O.O. Rozenberg, has been selected as an accompanying article, appearing for the first time in English translation.

We note that in the reference book, *Vostokovedenie v Petrograde 1918-1922 gg. (Oriental Studies in Petrograd 1918-1922)*, the lecture by V. M. Alekseev, "Buddizm v kitajskoj kul'ture i narodnoj religii" ("Buddhism in Chinese Culture and Popular Religion"),[21] is also mentioned. The text of it was not published; in the archives of the Academy of Sciences in the inventory of V. M. Alekseev, preliminary notes for his lecture and short summarizing comments on the lectures of other scholars at the Exposition are preserved.[22]

The choice of lecturers, acknowledged experts on Buddhism and Buddhist art, and their scientifically well-grounded accounts about the Buddhist world-view in its regional forms made these lectures valuable sources of readily accessible information about the Buddhist outlook on the world and the peculiarities of the cult-practice of Buddhists in the entire area where this religion is disseminated.

The printed material of the First Buddhist Exposition possesses indubitable scientific and historical value, since it reflects the methodological level of Buddhology attained at the beginning of the 20th century, and presents in condensed form for the reader the basic features of the Buddhist outlook on the world and of Buddhist religious life.

(The Asiatic Museum), Moscow 1972, p. 242-243, note 31; note by the translator K.K.-P.]

21 See *Vostokovedenie v Petrograde 1918-1922 gg. (Oriental Studies in Petrograd, 1918-1922)*, Petrograd 1923, p. 66.

22 See *AAN SPbO* (*Archives of the Academy of Sciences of Russia, St. Petersburg Branch*), Fond 820, Subdivision 1, Item 405.

The World-View of Contemporary Buddhism in the Far East

Otto O. Rosenberg[1]

The religious movement of Buddhism began twenty-five centuries ago on the soil of India. That was the first world religion. For the first time in the history of humanity, the idea was born to show the way to salvation for all beings without exception, not depending on their origin and not depending on their position in life.

Buddhism was not a religion of strength and beauty, accessible for the selected few, and Buddhism was also not the religion of suffering, the religion of the oppressed. In part it was the one and the other, but rather it was neither the one nor the other, but something much more encompassing.

Already the first Buddhists called their teaching "the middle", not in the sense of the golden mean and not in the sense of compromise, but in the sense of that teaching to which in comparison other, contemporary Indian teachings appeared to be one-sided extremes, not able to cope with the enigmas life proposes. The Buddhist teaching was directed to every sentient being, and against its understanding of life and its aims, happiness and unhappiness, poverty, strength and infirmity, life and death appeared to be equally pitiful. It wanted to save both the strong and the weak, who were equally floating in the continuous cycle of existence and suffering.

This idea and this goal inspired Buddhist preachers, who started to spread the Buddhist teaching beyond the boundaries of India and who went to the south, the north and the east, covering all of Central and South Asia. They went through China and already more than a thousand years ago reached the distant isles of Japan.

How Buddhism was at its beginnings, so it is, in essence, in our times. In the course of centuries a rich literature, philosophical and poetic, developed around it, a powerful art grew up, a number of diverse cults formed among different peoples as well as among different groups belonging to one and the same people. But the basic positions,

---

1 Translated from: O.O. Rozenberg, *Trudy po buddizmu* (*Works on Buddhism*), Moscow, Nauka, 1991, pp. 18-42. The original text appeared as: *Pervaya buddijskaya vystavka v Peterburge. O mirosozertsanii sovremennogo buddizma na Dal'nem Vostoke. Lektsiya professora O.O. Rozenberga, chitannaya na pervoj buddijskoj vystavke v Peterburge. Izdanie otdela po delam muzeev i okhrany pamyatnikov iskusstva i stariny.* Peterburg, 1919. (*First Buddhist Exposition in St. Petersburg. On the World-View of Contemporary Buddhism in the Far East. Lecture of O.O. Rosenberg, read at the First Buddhist Exposition in St. Petersburg. Published by the Department of Museums and Preservation of Monuments of Art and Antiquities*, St. Petersburg, 1919, 72 pp. (From the citation in the reprint, p. 244).
In the preparation of the present text, the German translation, "Die Weltanschauung des modernen Buddhismus im fernen Osten", by Dr. Ph. Schaeffer, of the original 1919 text, was also consulted (see *Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus*, Vol. 6, 1924).

the basic view of life and its enigmas remained as they had been established from the very beginning.

It is asked: how can one understand the diversity of the Buddhist world which we encounter looking at the different forms of Buddhism nowadays in different countries? No other religion has so decidedly advanced the principle of equality of all sentient beings. There is one truth, there is one goal, to which all strive and which all should attain and will attain. Buddhism does not know predestination, it does not know eternal damnation for some and eternal bliss for others — all are equal. Yet at the same time no other religion has so decidedly and openly taken into consideration the truth that people, compared with each other, are not equal. Legend tells us that the teacher Śākyamuni, the founder of Buddhism, said to his disciples: people are different, the one understands easily, the other with difficulty, the third possesses an intermediate receptivity. Some love to ponder over questions, they love and are able to understand detailed explanations, and others already understand hints or prefer short explanations. This is the principle of every educator, and it applies to the missionaries of Buddhism over the course of its entire history. The method of teaching changed, according to the character and ability of the people and the nations which Buddhism encountered. In this way its outward diversity can be explained.

Some thought that this constitutes a deficiency of Buddhism, that it makes concessions; but such a view is not true.

In body and soul people are unequal; that is a truth which should not be passed over in silence, it is a fact with which one must reconcile oneself; every teacher, every physician knows that. But the goal of education, the goal of healing is one and the same for all, and the skill of the physician and the teacher consists exactly of being able to find the right approach to the pupil and to the patient. Persistently pursuing the intended goal, they must reckon with the peculiarities of the character and the build of the pupil; only then will they actually achieve their goal.

Just in this lies the reason for the diversity of Buddhism; this explains why a Buddhist, even an ardent Buddhist, can be a simple nomad, a philosopher, a learned monk, a layman. The principles of the Buddhist teaching can be set forth in such a way that everyone agrees with them. But the form of the exposition will be different; the simple, uncomplicated interpretations of life will not satisfy the deeper thinkers, and the subtle philosophizing of the learned monks will remain incomprehensible for the majority of people.

In Buddhism, we are struck by the absence of dogmas in the sense of the foundation of faith, expressed in distinct terms, laid down once and for all and binding for all.

The truth is one, but for different people it is necessary to speak about it with different

words; the path to the truth is not one and the same for everyone. Buddhism did not insist on the way, if only the goal would be reached.

Such was the method of Buddhist propaganda.

The results are evident: Buddhism flourished or flourishes in all Asian countries — among nations of the most diverse breed and among all strata of the population.

Contemporary Buddhism of East Asia, in essence, goes back not to the most ancient Buddhism, but to the more complex forms which were elaborated during the epoch of the highest flourishing of Buddhism, in the middle of the first millenium A.D. This was approximately at the time when in Europe Christianity began to spread among the northern pagans, and in Arabia Islam, the teaching of Mohammed, arose.

Many are astonished by the fact that in India itself, Buddhism, after the period of its flourishing, long ago gave way to Brahmanism. The history of the disappearance of Buddhism in India is very complicated, and its details are still little known. In essence, it has something to do with the struggle of the priests of the Brahmin caste for their existence.

You know how strictly segregated the castes in India are. In the caste the instinctive opposition to racial mixing has found its expression. In practice, the Buddhist community threatened to destroy the social order of India, although the Buddha himself did not attack the caste order as such. The secluded, organized aristocracy of the priests subdued the Buddhist community, which consisted of mixed elements, not united on a formal societal principle. But Buddhist thought, philosophical as well as religious, turned out to be the stronger of the two; it was deeply reflected in Brahmanic philosophy, having thoroughly transformed it.

The period of the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries was the time of the highest cultural development of India and China; the then young and just emerging Japanese culture was beginning to join in.

In India we observe an unprecedented flourishing of literature, philosophy and science, and in China we observe the same. China achieves the zenith of its political and cultural power. Relations with India are established: famous pilgrims visit India, a great number of Indians travel to China, and for the Central Asian peoples and Japan, the capital of the great Tang dynasty becomes the center and source of culture, spiritual and material.

One after another religious trends of Buddhism arise and develop, interweaving with Brahmanic trends in India, Confucianist and other trends in China, with the ancient indigenous Shinto in Japan, and with local beliefs in Tibet and Central Asia. Everywhere the influence of Buddhist-Indian thought, which is new for East Asia, is clearly visible.

To depict in detail the significance of Buddhism for the peoples of Asia would mean to write the cultural history of these peoples, because their whole life and being is deeply permeated by Buddhist features beside the indigenous ones.

This, in a very few strokes, is the movement of Buddhism from India to Central and East Asia, across China and Korea to Japan, over the course of the entire first millenium of our era.

I propose to direct your attention to Japanese Buddhism; but that which will be exposed will give you a picture of Chinese as well as of Indian Buddhism, since all the most important sects came to Japan from China, and the principal religious literature, the sacred texts and philosophical treatises, are Chinese translations of Indian originals. Even now, the Japanese study Buddhism through these original Chinese sources; Japanese translations of the sacred texts do not exist at all. You know that the Japanese literary language and the Japanese written language are borrowed from China, and the well-read Japanese considers Chinese literature as his own. I repeat: that which refers to Buddhism in Japan also refers to Chinese Buddhism, except that in Japan the picture of the sects is drawn more clearly, more distinctively; in Japanese Buddhism there is not such a great number of collateral elements, which we would have to eliminate in the description of Chinese Buddhism. In any case, in Japan these collateral elements are not that noticeable.

One should not think that Japanese Buddhism is some kind of new development. No, it is just the same ancient Buddhism of India and China, only differently reflected. In essence, these are the same ideas, the same images, so far as they are alive in the modern mind.

And yet for another reason, it seems to me, one should proceed from Japanese Buddhism and not from Chinese Buddhism. Japan is the first of the Asian countries to become more acquainted with Europe and to win its position alongside European nations not only in the political sense but to a certain degree also in a scientific sense. Here in Japan Buddhism for the first time encounters European philosophy, European religion and contemporary European natural science. It will be of interest to observe how in future this contact of Buddhist thought with the most recent trends of Europe will affect that nation, which is in possession of Buddhist culture in its full measure and which, more than any other Asian nation, has understood European thought.

It is as though Japan has paved the way to Asia for Europe, and we, in turn, will with the help of Japan more easily approach the soul of Asian peoples. If we have understood Japanese Buddhism in all its diversity and versatility, it will be easy for us to approach the Buddhism of less civilized people. In this sense Japanese Buddhism is even more important, as in Japan a sort of new center of Buddhist thought is

developing, from which attempts to influence the Buddhist world of China, Tibet and India proceed. The striving of Japan towards hegemony, i.e. towards leadership in the field of Asian politics, also begins to appear among the representatives of Japanese Buddhism, who dream of uniting the Buddhists of all of Asia under their leadership.

In part, the statement of the theme of my lecture is determined by personal considerations. About Japanese Buddhism I speak not only on the basis of having read Japanese sources, but also on the basis of my own observations and personal experiences in Japan, in the Japanese milieu.

So that you can more easily follow the subsequent exposition, I will first of all indicate my program. In the mind of every Buddhist, the founder of Buddhism, Buddha Śākyamuni, occupies so prominent a place that we must say a few words about him. However, since you have already heard in the earlier lectures about his life and his teachings and also about the method of his reasoning, I can limit myself to the most brief indications of the image of Śākyamuni which lives in the soul of every Buddhist. I shall dwell in more detail on the basic teachings of Buddhism about life and death and about salvation, which unite all Buddhists of Japan.

The second part of the lecture will be devoted to a description of the three sects, or more exactly, the three confessions of Japanese Buddhism, the most characteristic, and the most different, but based on the same fundamental teachings. All three sects have more or less the same importance in modern Japan. Accordingly, we have to dwell in detail on one extremely important question, namely the question of the relationship between the teacher and founder of Buddhism, the Buddha Śākyamuni, and those other Buddhas about whom the Buddhists speak and whose images you see at the Exposition, i.e. the question of the Buddhism of the Buddha and the Buddhism of the Buddhas.

And so, I now proceed to the first part, to the exposition of the appearance of the Buddha and the basic teachings of Buddhism.

As is well known, the first to proclaim to the people the teaching of Buddhism was Gautama Śākyamuni, the hermit-sage from the line of the Śākya, who lived in the 6th-5th century B.C.

The account of his life is well known to every Buddhist, the events of his life being a rewarding theme for pictures and tales. Like the life of all heroes and saints, the life of the great teacher is embellished with many wonderful traits. But concerning those parts which bear historical character, we can have our doubts as to true historical accuracy. Perhaps in some future time it will be possible to restore to some degree the picture of the actual life of Gautama from the line of the Śākya. But for the history of the Buddhist religion, for the understanding of the Buddhist teaching, and for the understanding of the soul of the Eastern Buddhist, this will not be of special

importance. In Buddhism even now lives that Śākyamuni about whom legend speaks; this image the Buddhist cherishes, and this image inspires the artist and the poet.

The historical Buddha — this is not the Buddha of the history of Buddhism; the historical Buddha — this is the Buddha of the legend.

You remember the story of his miraculous birth, of his education in his father's palace, of how under the influence of the four encounters — with an old man, an invalid, a corpse and with a monk — he decides to forsake the imperial palace and sets out to seek the answer to the enigma of life. Gautama immerses himself in the study of Indian philosophy, but the Indian philosophy of that time was already centuries old and divided into numerous schools. He comprehends all the subtleties of wisdom of the contemporary thinkers, but remains unsatisfied.

He gives himself up to asceticism, he mortifies his body, but even this does not lead him to his desired goal. Then he decides to return to his usual way of life and, after having strengthened his exhausted body, once again immerses himself in meditation. Finally the great moment arrives: only one obstacle, the last, remains. Māra, the god of desire, who is also the lord of death, tries to disrupt the Buddha's meditation; the attempt did not succeed, and just then enlightenment occurs, the enigma of life is unravelled.

That which Śākyamuni beheld in that instant provides the answer to the question of existence and human life, the answer that also underlies the contemporary Buddhist world-view. The Buddha beheld existence which is suffering and its causes, he saw the end of suffering and the way to this end. In other words, he understood the essence of the cycle of existence, the wheel of life, and comprehended the possibility of getting away from the cycle, of stopping the revolving wheel of life.

Pain and sorrow, sadness, anxiety, separation, are known to everyone; and those few who know little of them, those who do not know life, see them around themselves in other people. Here is the basic phenomenon which no one can refute.

From where does evil come into the world? This is one of the first questions which arise for those who begin to consider the question of life's meaning. And now the second question arises: what is existence itself, what is life itself? Everyone knows what a decisive role these questions play in all religions, in all philosophies. Recall what is said about the creator, the evil spirit, the fall of man. Recall the scientific theory about the origin of organic life, about the struggle of each against all, and so on. Everywhere are attempts to answer by means of assumption the question about the unknown beginning.

Buddhism approaches this question somewhat differently; it begins by taking a close look at life as it is at this very moment, that is, in the present.

Think about our present-day life: what kind of life is it? Look at it in the simplest possible way: you will then note only a stream of all different kinds of thoughts and feelings, different memories, different sensations — now of lights, now of sounds, now of something else. All of these become interwoven and become connected, now in this way, now in another. Here you see one thing and hear one thing, and, after a moment, you will hear another, new thing. The content of your conscious life changes every instant, and you won't even notice the change. You remember what was yesterday, you remember much that was very long ago, but you do not remember everything, you do not remember when you began to live. The question arises: do we generally have the right to speak about a beginning of the stream of thoughts, feelings and sensations, out of which we and that which we experience are formed? Because we cannot prove such a beginning. We evidently see how other bodies are born and die, we associate with them, but fundamentally we do not live their lives, we do not think their thoughts.

Is it necessary to presuppose that the stream of our life has a beginning? Here we are living, thinking and feeling; we lived earlier, and evidently, still earlier, although we do not remember about it. Indeed, we often do not remember what happened yesterday. But if we even say that we are created by someone, will this really, in essence, be the beginning? A new question arises: by whom is the creator created, and is he created at all? He evidently does not have a beginning. But for what reason, then, his act of creation? Is it not simpler to presume that we are not created, that we do not have a beginning, that we have always been?

Others speak of life as being formed from matter. Consequently, matter has always been, it does not have a beginning. But why, then, must life have a beginning?

From the Buddhist point of view, all these questions are futile and unnecessary; life does not have a beginning. Every living being is a beginningless phenomenon. That which we call "body" is only a combination of certain parts of some stream; such a combination is also that which we call our "I", and that which we call our world, our own kinfolk, our own things — all this together is only one complex figure, constituted of those elements that flow unceasingly, which we can establish simply, but which there is no need to attempt to explain. And we do not have the right to pick out a part of the general pattern and speak: There is the sun, there am "I". There is no sun, no "I" in the sense of something existing independently. There is only a complex pattern: "the personality seeing the sun", a single, indivisible picture.

All attempts to explain the beginning of conscious life — through a creator or a mechanical process — are completely arbitrary, and moreover they leave aside the question which essentially, because it is senseless, is unsolvable — there is no beginning!

European thought has become so accustomed to the question of the beginning that it seems to be inevitable. Among Buddhist nations we notice the reverse: our question about a beginning, about the creation of the world, about the creation of man, are completely incomprehensible to them.

The tree grows up from the seed, the seed from the tree, this tree again from the seed, and so on, without end; a beginning is inconceivable — why speak about it?

And so, according to the teaching of Buddhism, each personality with all that it is and thinks, with all its outer and inner world, is nothing more than a temporary combination of beginningless and endless elements, so to speak a ribbon, woven of a certain length of beginningless and endless threads. When the event that we call death occurs, the fabric with the particular design in a sort of way dissolves, but the very same untearable threads join together again, from them a new ribbon with a new design is being formed.

The countless threads from which a given personality is woven constitute, so to speak, a bundle of threads, the basis of a fabric, those longitudinal threads which in the fabric join now in this, now in that design; not one thread can go into another basis, into a different personality, which is also such a unique combination of threads.

In this way, any individual personality that lives at present, under such and such living conditions, calling itself such and such — this is basically a temporarily designed ribbon from the basic threads. These are the very same threads that now call themselves "Ivan", that once have been "Peter", that in future will be "Alexej"; now perhaps they join together in the form of a ploughman, but that design dissolves, those same threads join together anew and will become a tsar, they dissolve again and transform themselves into a monk-hermit. There is no beginning and no end.

This is the meaning of the Buddhist teaching about rebirth. This is not the migration of the soul into a new body, this is literally a rebirth; those very same threads that formed Peter together with his body, with his world, will be Ivan with his body and his world. That is not at all the soul, which will leave somewhere and will enter somewhere — this is only a bundle of equal, inseparably joined threads, which unite into manifold designs.

Human life from birth to death — this is only a short, small and miserable episode on the background of these threads flowing from eternity and disappearing into eternity.

Don't forget that this is only a picture. For the elements in question are indeed not spatial, and life is not a fabric, but a combination of thoughts and feelings, sensations and recollections. The stream of existence is sustained by itself, no one set it going, no one stops it, and this "being", this motion, is connected with agitation, with vanity, with torment. There is no existence without suffering, no suffering without existence;

to be and to suffer are one and the same, and both the one and the other are beginningless.

In this way, evil in the world is beginningless. It does not originate from anywhere. The torment of life is not the consequence of a fall of man, it never began, and the individual is not guilty that he actually exists and suffers.

But, on the other hand, we notice that people's lives are not the same: some suffer more, others less. And the moral feeling inherent in people will never be content that often the villain enjoys himself whereas the virtuous suffers without guilt.

In Buddhism, this question is resolved by the doctrine of retribution, of moral responsibility. Although nobody is guilty of existence itself, every individual life is tied to the preceding one and guilty of suffering in this particular way and not in some other way. For the life of the given person is the life woven from the same threads which formed the past living pattern on just that same ribbon. Although the threads became unravelled when that which is called death occurred, nevertheless the way in which they had been connected influences the way they will be connected anew. Supposing evil thoughts prevail in a person, if in that person malice, hatred and greed have not been suppressed, then in the subsequent combination (i.e. life) a response must in effect ensue; the new person will suffer and be tormented, he will be surrounded by unpleasant conditions, he will, so to speak, undergo punishment for the evil deeds of the past person. Only in the given new life he will perhaps suppress these evil feelings, then he will prepare for his basis a better existence, a better design for the future; but at the present moment this will be a good person, apparently suffering for no reason. In reality the suffering is not in vain, he has deserved his fate; he answers for his own past, for the past design on his own ribbon, although he does not remember it. Man does not only answer for the temporal past within the limits of one life, but for many lives, and he prepares the future for many lives.

This theory of retribution — which perhaps can be expressed in philosophical language in a more abstract way and more visually — has fostered in Buddhists an extremely well-developed sense of moral responsibility. Everybody answers for himself. More coarse people will avoid evil so as not to be punished, fearing retribution; others will do good out of higher goals, about which we will talk later. But it is important that they struggle against their own passions; and to induce them to do so is the goal of the teacher. Clearly the same arguments do not work for all.

Such is the picture of life as it appears to the Buddhist. The cycle of life is depicted in the famous twelve-member formula of being, well-known to everyone, which is represented in various forms, in abstract philosophical language, in coarse material ways, and even simply in the form of a picture.

The wheel of life depicts the process of life of an individual personality during three rebirths. We presume that the basis of the personality has appeared as some man or woman, living some kind of life. The person has become an adult and lives a full life. He is attached to life, he loves it, he is seized by its whirl and does not perceive its vanity. Existence cannot calm down, and in this is the guarantee for the future rebirth. This is the first link of the new life, still lying in the past, this is the so-called obscuration (*avidyā*). And as a result of this obscuration the person lived in the vortex, performed his deeds and outlined the form for his future life; this which was fashioned (*saṃskāra*) by him is the second link, also lying in the past life. The person became old and died. As a result of the obscuration and the "fashioned", the new life starts on that same basis, and its first moment is that when all threads have been prepared for the creation of a new design, when all of them are, so to speak, gathered around consciousness (*vijñāna*). In itself it will reflect all the rest. This is the first moment of the new life, the moment of conception, as people say. But there is not yet a design, although the threads are present. The person, not yet having seen the world, does not yet experience anything; there are only the elements of material and spiritual life (*nāmarūpa*) present. But now the design starts to be made up — that which we call the sense organs or the capability of seeing, hearing, etc. is being distinguished. More exactly, this is not a capability, rather, the very sensations of seeing, hearing etc. By themselves they are completely unconscious, they are still not reflected in the consciousness. As supports for the consciousness they are distinguished in a special group, namely, the six foundations for consciousness (*ṣad-āyatana*).

Thereafter the conscious life begins, i.e. experiences begin to be perceived, though still dimly; this is the time when man has not yet been born into the world, and the first period of the newborn child; but the union of consciousness with the foundations is already occurring, this is the so-called "contact" (*sparśa*).

Now in the child new threads begin to be distinguished, it begins to feel, to differentiate the pleasant from the unpleasant, this is the so-called "feeling" (*vedanā*). Adolescence sets in — and new sensations, manifestations of sexual instinct (*tṛṣṇā*). And again a new element emerges — the "striving" towards a goal (*upādāna*).

And now man is grown up; new elements no longer appear — the period of full life ensues. Again man is surrounded by ignorance, again he does not notice vanity, again he becomes attached to life — turning around in the vortex of life, performing deeds and laying the foundation for a new life. This period, which ends with death, is the period of life, of "being" (*bhava*). And again, as a result of ignorance, man sets about a new life, again consciousness is being formed and surrounded by new elements, again man is being born, the moment of birth (*jāti*) occurs. Again man starts to grow

up, again he turns around in the vortex, again he gets old and dies (*jarāmaraṇa*). He dies to be born again, and so on without end.

These twelve stages of being are figuratively depicted as an enormous wheel, divided into three circles. The entire wheel is situated in the mouth and claws of a monster. This monster is ignorance, the attachment to life. The inner circle contains, twisted around each other, a chicken, a snake and a pig — symbols of the three fundamental vices: voluptuousness, anger and ignorance. The middle circle contains the pictures depicting the six categories of conscious beings: the kingdom of men, the kingdom of the gods, the kingdom of the demons, the kingdom of the animals, the kingdom of hell and the kingdom of the suffering spirits. The outer, smallest circle, contains twelve images depicting the twelve stages on the way to rebirth described above.

This life

1) Ignorance — a blind woman.

2) The performing of deeds — a potter, giving clay the shape of a pot.

The new life

3) The moment of the appearance of consciousness — a monkey — representing consciousness, leaping from branch to branch.

4) The elements of spiritual and material life — people crossing the sea in a boat.

5) Appearance of the six bases of consciousness — a deserted house or a mask.

6) The contact of consciousness with its foundations — a kiss of lovers or a man seizing a plow.

7) The feeling of the pleasant and the unpleasant — an arrow having wounded a man in the eye.

8) The appearance of the instincts — a man intoxicated with wine.

9) The striving towards a goal — a man gathering fruit.

10) Life in the full sense — a married woman or an embracing couple.

11) Birth — a newborn with its mother.

12) Old age and death — a corpse being carried by a man to the cremation grounds.

The wheel of existence and its beginningless motion — this is the first half of that which the Buddha saw, having comprehended the secret of life. But apart from this, the Buddha beheld the way to leave the cycle of existence, how to abolish suffering from which, at first glance, there does not seem to exist a way out.

Some people pose the following question: if existence is suffering, and if the goal consists in the destruction of existence, then it would seem that there is a simple means to put an end to suffering — suicide. This, of course, is a misunderstanding. For the suicide destroys his given earthly life, only one episode, he cuts through only the given combination of threads, disrupting the pattern of his life with one violent blow. But it is beyond his power to stop the stream, the threads will immediately join together again and start a new life, because these are the same fundamental threads which are deeper than that fleeting physical and spiritual life. The elimination of suffering would only be possible if the threads would cease altogether to interlace, but for this it is necessary to stop the very stream of existence.

And here Buddhists say that the Buddha beheld the end of the cycle, the eternal peace, *nirvāṇa*, and the path to it.

The motion of the wheel does not have a beginning, but it moves towards an end. How is this really possible?

It is possible in the following way: among these threads which are unceasingly interlacing, there are elements of peace that are opposite to the passions and the agitation. Usually these threads are not interwoven in the very pattern of life, but they exist in the basis itself. They are, so to speak, concealed under a veil, they are the path leading to peace. There are moments when people realize the insignificance of vanity and see these elements, and if we will put forward these threads, then by them we can hold back the agitation, cut off its roots, and gradually the stream of interweaving must weaken and finally cease.

One should not forget that this is a prolonged process, it may extend through countless rebirths, but it can be achieved — and this is, in fact, the highest goal of existence, to arrive at the end.

It is asked: is there an end possible when there is no beginning? Buddhism says: yes! That which exists must have a cause, but it may not have consequences. A plant presupposes a seed — and where there is a seed there was a plant. But where there is a seed, there also may not be a tree in future, the seed may perish, or the tree may not bear fruit. Furthermore, only that which has no beginning can really have an end; that which has a beginning, it seems, can also have an end, but where is the guarantee that there will not be a beginning anew? Only the beginningless, having ended, ends forever, irrevocably.

From that moment when in the consciousness the thought of the final goal awakens, its development begins, one after another, agitation, passion, hatred and obscuration are being suppressed; the person becomes more and more lucid. Here Buddhist philosophy has worked out an entire science about the psychology of the meditator, of the higher

faculties that gradually subdue in themselves the earthly elements, until finally peace ensues, eternal, undisturbed silence. But this, of course, will not simply be non-existence. The threads have not disappeared, they have only ceased to interlace, only their beginningless agitation, their motion, has ended. Buddhists compare existence with an icon-lamp and with the ocean. The burning icon-lamp with the flickering, wavering flame, that is existence, finally goes out, the process of burning ends, but the icon-lamp still remains. The ocean rages, enveloped by the storm, but the storm finally subsides and the waves die away, the ocean becomes tranquil, but that does not mean that the ocean is no more.

This condition of peace — *nirvāṇa* — cannot be described in words, but it is not the absence of whatever was not, it is not complete nothingness: Buddhism has never advocated such a nothingness. This absence of vain existence is really something incomprehensible, some kind of super-existence.

Every suppression of desire promotes the attainment of this condition — the eradication of egoism, the attachment to the "I" and to that which I call "mine", to which the "I" clings, not wishing to part from it. Each attainment of a higher step is the overcoming of a lower one, therefore a "paradise on earth" is not possible; the earthly kind of life is, like everything, only a phase; the being, once it is purified, ceases to be human; the level of the human remains always one and the same. It is possible to overcome this type, but not to improve it.

This is the reason why Buddhism so persistently teaches that there is no such "I" which one must look after, that there is nothing immutable in earthly life in which one could find rest.

But it is evident that not everyone will understand the ultimate ideal — and therefore to some it is necessary to say: do not be an egoist, so that you won't suffer in a future existence; and to others one says: eradicate your desires so as to hasten the attainment of the goal.

You see that the final goal of Buddhism, like any philosophy and any religion, is not the achievement of a worldly animal happiness: happiness is as fleeting as is unhappiness, as even the individual life, lasting a few decades and being no more than an insignificant particle in the beginningless stream of interweaving threads.

But in Buddhist teaching it is envisaged that, within a single life, it is impossible to achieve the final goal, and for this reason we notice that indulgence in relation to worldly weaknesses, which, in essence, is again only recognition of the fact that the abilities and the degrees of development of people are different, that it is impossible to presume that what is done in the course of a short life will bring about eternal results in its wake.

In this sense, Buddhist scholars who are acquainted with other religions and other teachings, consider them only as temporary means — but as such suitable for the education of the people — and therefore we should not be surprised by the remarkable tolerance and the lack of any fanaticism from the Buddhist side toward other teachings where they are encountered.

Thus, the final goal of Buddhism is completely clear; clear also is the path so far as it consists of the suppression of the desires and the agitation. It is a question, however, of how to realize this path in practice. The initial and basic answer, of course, is also clear — one must struggle against the vanity in oneself by means of observing the monastic vows of morality, one must immerse the mind in the teachings of Buddhism concerning the meaning of life, and one must purify oneself and develop oneself by means of immersion in meditation about that which is inexpressible in words and which cannot be grasped by thought.

It goes without saying that for the majority of people the fulfillment of all these paths is impossible, and so for them different paths are shown. Partly in accord with that principle of Buddhism that one should make allowance for the abilities of the pupil, partly in consequence of the propensities of the teachers themselves who were preaching Buddhism, some started to attach special or exclusive importance to one, others to another path, and finally, there was even put forward a new, fourth path, the path of belief in the help of the Buddha.

In connection with these practical questions, differences of opinion soon arise, the schism begins. Sects are formed. They are, nevertheless, all united through the basic view on life, on the beginningless cycle of existence and on *nirvāṇa*.

The beginning of the sects dates from a very ancient period. Already after the death of Śākyamuni, Buddhism in India numbered 18 sects, or rather, philosophical schools; then divisions of still greater importance arose. New sects arose in Tibet, in China and in Japan.

All the most important trends were preserved in Japan, and we shall dwell on the four fundamental ones so as to see what kind of astonishing diversity was created on the basis of one and the same basic idea.

The path of deeds, the path of philosophical thinking, the path of meditation, the path of faith — these are the four paths on which a living being moves in the direction of the final goal.

The path of deeds is, in essence, the path of the fulfillment of the moral vows, the observance of the monastic and secular precepts.

At the present time, there is no longer a Buddhist sect in Japan that advocates this path as an exclusive means to salvation. But in antiquity, a thousand years ago, there existed

entire sects of the path of deeds. Now the general view is that the basic demands in the sense of the fulfillment of the precepts go without saying. For the villain and the profligate, however refined their capability of reflection, the path to enlightenment in this life is closed; in the religious sense their reflections have no value. Not, of course, because they harm someone else, but because they are slaves to their own emotions. A certain abstention is therefore a general requirement, about which it is not necessary to speak.

"Do good" — this is the exhortation which shows through all the sermons of the Buddha, but if we draw the conclusion that Buddhism is essentially only a teaching of morals, then we make a gross error.

Moral demands play an important role in Buddhism, but only as the first, elementary step on the path to the goal. The Buddha was not a social reformer, he was not a teacher of morality, he did not wish to improve people so that they would be better people, he did not strive to create a paradise on earth. He was, of course, in fact a reformer, he taught morality, but this activity of his was only an insignificant part of his intentions.

The personality of the teacher Buddha indeed appears to the Buddhist as a preacher of morality; it is just as you have heard in the first lecture. The Buddha indeed did not speak in his sermons about philosophical questions, for his sermons are addressed to people who were not familiar with the speculations of the Indian thinkers. He could not speak otherwise, but in his system, in the system of Buddhism, morality in practical life is only a means, although the most elementary one, on the path to development.

In Europe that view of Buddhism, namely that it is a system of morality, has been firmly established, and that view above all hinders a correct understanding of Buddhism. For by emphasizing morality we stop on the first step and close our eyes, not seeing that beyond it is still the entire staircase.

Thus, the path of deeds — the path of morality — was at no time and in no sect self-sufficing by itself, but always and everywhere served only as the first step, without which, however, it is impossible to enter upon the next one.

In connection with this question I shall briefly indicate that we meet with the practice of asceticism and self-mortification, etc. in Buddhism, but it is not encouraged and, on the contrary, it is looked upon somewhat disdainfully, as something having very much to do with the body and useless in the religious sense. You may, however, also find in Japan monks standing for several hours and even days in the stream of a waterfall or in a rapidly flowing river during the cold time of a year. Nevertheless self-mortification is considered unnecessary, and in this respect the living tradition, established, as you know, by the founder of Buddhism, Śākyamuni, has been

preserved. I note, in passing, that in general the lower asceticism in India — the so-called fakirs, yogis etc. — are phenomena which have not only nothing to do with Buddhism, but also nothing with Indian religion. Religious achievements are very sacred for the Indian — they will never become a spectacle for the crowd. For the meditator these phenomena are pitiful tricks, nothing more.

The path of philosophy, in the proper sense of the word, does not fall within the scope of our survey today; but one cannot pass by in complete silence the existence of a vast literature, in the study of which in earlier times and nowadays numerous learned monks in Japan, China, Tibet and other Buddhist countries are engaged. This thousand-volumed literature in various languages is still almost completely unknown in Europe.

At the base of this literature lie, without any change, these same four "truths" — about suffering existence and its origins, about the end of existence and about the path to the end — these teachings about the cycle of existence which we have talked of. These are basic teachings, in which all life, all nature with all of its manifestations, is included.

Today we have to dwell on the question of the paths to the final goal, as far as they exist today among the present Japanese sects — these are the remaining three paths.

The path of thought, the path of meditation, the path of faith — according to these three categories all Japanese sects can be divided: These are to a certain extent the three great fundamental confessions, similar to our division of Christendom into Orthodoxy, Catholicism and Lutheran. The most characteristic representatives of these three paths are the sects Singon, Zen and Jodo.

I

The Path of Thought

Singon is the most universal of the Japanese sects; here beside the study of abstract philosophy you find religious meditation, a splendid cult, rich temples, a complex religious art and iconography.

Today above all we will concern ourselves with this last topic.

The arrangement of the hands, the objects for representation, the grouping of the representations — all this has a precise significance, this, in essence, is the pictorial representation of that about which Buddhist abstract philosophy speaks — this is the same teaching about salvation from the fetters of existence.

I repeat that today we shall be concerned above all with the pictorial representation of the Buddhist sect Singon, i.e. with that thinking, but the thinking in pictorial forms. In

the Singon sect the teaching about all those Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, depictions of which you see in the Exposition, is preserved.

So as to understand the images of Buddhist art, iconography and religious sculpture, it is necessary to know at least something about what these images hold for the Buddhist. What is it that the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas are? Is not Buddhism really the cult of the one Buddha Śākyamuni, as Christianity is the cult of Christ? These questions should of course be asked by everyone who for the first time becomes acquainted with Buddhism, and to answer them briefly is necessary, though this is very difficult.

I shall attempt to explain to you the essence of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas with the help of an image similar to that about which we have already talked in analysing the teaching about rebirth. It goes without saying that such an image cannot completely settle the question. But for such a vivid account to become clear, a whole series of preliminary discussions would be required.

You will remember that every personality is a stream of various constituent parts, of different sensations, feelings and thoughts, wishes, memories, etc., which among themselves interlace and become tied together, as a result of which man arises who speaks: look, this is "I", this is "mine", this is "not mine". You will remember how the streams, according to Buddhist teaching, do not have a beginning and how periodically one and the same stream, one and the same ribbon brings about now one, now another person — designs which do not remember one another, but which as manifestations of one and the same stream of threads are responsible for one another. All these streams are no more than a tiny drop in the vast ocean of existence; just imagine a huge vortex of murky water, consisting of innumerable drops, where each drop is a stream-personality.

All the drops together constitute the general watery mass of existence, which is in circular rotation. But each drop is at the same time distinct from the others, each within its own limits striving towards clearness, striving towards lucidity and in this way detaching itself from the general mass of the vortex, so as to swim to the shore, to leave the movement. The ultimate goal will be achieved when in all the drops the muddiness becomes clear, disappears and when all movement of the vortex ceases — there will be one endless lucid lake, eternally tranquil.

The separate drops purify themselves independently, and of them countless ones have already achieved lucidity, have reached the shore and found peace. Leaving the abyss, they are staying forever in the enlightened state — they have freed themselves from the gloom, from the obscuration and are free from the agitation of existence; these are the rescued personalities. Up to this moment, these personalities, to whom enlightenment has come, but who still have not reached the shore, are called "Bodhi-sattva", literally

"beings in whom there is enlightenment", "bodhi". In this sense, Bodhisattvas are all those who have understood the essence of existence, that is, for whom a turning-point has been reached and who have entered upon the path to salvation, who have already left this very abyss and have made their way to the shore. These are the personalities who in the following rebirth will be able to reach the final goal.

Among these Bodhisattvas, Buddhists specially revere those who, already being on the threshold of the very moment when they could enter upon peace, when they could reach the shore, voluntarily renounce it and return into the abyss to help others still in the deep. These Bodhisattvas are already pure — the vortex can no longer obscure them, and, being among other drops, by their purity help and support them. If they would reach the shore, they would be saved, but they would not bring any benefit to others.

But Bodhisattvas are not able to teach and enlighten others — this only the Buddhas in the true sense of the word are able to do. Among the Bodhisattvas, among the pure drops, ready to reach the shore, a comparatively few are especially lucid and azure. They touch the shore and are in eternal, undisturbable peace. No longer a part of the motion, these drops, however, can, so to speak, reflect themselves in those which are still in the vortex, and also in those drops which have already left it but still have not reached the shore, that is, the Bodhisattvas. Thus, each Buddha in a sort of way has three forms, or, as Buddhists say, three "bodies". The first, pure and tranquil, is the one who as such a personality has been achieving the goal, has been reaching the shore. The next is the shape which he has as a reflection in the Bodhisattvas, in the pure drops, still not having reached the shore. The third is the shape that he reflects in the muddy drops, still in the vortex. This last reflection is the one which people call the Buddha-teacher.

Each Buddha together with these drops in which he is reflected, forms, so to speak, one large kingdom — this is the so-called "pure land" of each Buddha. In popular consciousness these pure lands, among which the "land of Amitābha" is the most well-known, assume the form of a paradise. But don't forget that this is only a transitory state on the path to *nirvāna*.

There were countless numbers of Buddhas, but among them only some are remembered by living beings nowadays; the last of these was that one whom in his reflection in the human beings we call the teacher Śākyamuni, who for the living beings of our time was mentor and guide. This, from the standpoint of dogma, is the significance of that person that the Buddhist reveres in the human form of Gautama from the line of the Śākyas.

What has just been said conveys of course only approximately one of the most difficult

questions of Buddhist dogmatics, but at the same time one of the most important. It is impossible to speak about contemporary Buddhism without touching, however cursorily, on this question.

Only in connection with this question is it possible to understand the special significance of the Buddha Amitābha and the Buddha Vairocana, the two most important Buddhas of Eastern Buddhism. I will speak later about Amitābha, only for reasons of clarity must one refer here to his dogmatic significance. Firstly, I shall briefly repeat the categories of the persons who have achieved the goal.

Some of the persons, having completed the process of purification and being able to reach the shore, do so. Thus they cease to have any significance for the further purification of all others who are still staying in the vortex. Others could immerse themselves in peace, but do not do so for the sake of the others — these are the Bodhisattvas. The third — especially noteworthy — immerse themselves in peace, but temporarily are reflected in the other drops, becoming their leaders — these are the Buddhas in the strict sense of the word.

Amitābha occupies a special position. After having reached the level from which he could have entered peace, as the future Bodhisattva by the name of Dharmakara, he vowed not to enter upon peace until he would be assured that, even after having entered *nirvāṇa*, he would still be able to help with the salvation of others. "I do not want eternal peace, if living beings, thinking about me, will not be able to be reborn into my pure land"; this is the so-called "eternal vow" of Amitābha. Dharmakara in fact entered *nirvāṇa*, and the Buddhists who believe in him conclude that his vow was fulfilled. You see that, if the Bodhisattva Dharmakara had not been convinced of that, then even now, in our time, he would still be Bodhisattva. But he entered *nirvāṇa*, and consequently the believer in him after death will without fail pass into his blessed country.

His followers claim that all other Buddhas, having entered *nirvāṇa*, although they temporarily were teachers, limited themselves to pointing out the path, but afterwards they, so to speak, hid themselves, leaving the people to themselves.

Only Amitābha forever cared for the living beings: he who believes in him will enter his paradise Sukhāvatī directly after earthly death and from there pass into *nirvāṇa*. This is a new and the shortest way to salvation. He who does not believe in him must go by himself the long and arduous way, progressing slowly, through countless rebirths. Such is the significance of Amitābha.

There still remains to explain the significance of the so-called highest central Buddha — Vairocana, who occupies the principal position for the Singon sect. I shall explain him by means of the same image.

You will recall that the final goal of beginningless existence consists of the attainment of eternal peace. All drops become clear, and the vortex becomes calm. Still this is not the case, but, essentially, you see that every drop and the entire water already contains this calmness, it is in it, invisible and hidden — partly it is already realized by the Buddhas and those who are saved. This universal peace, more correctly, existence in peace, its possibility in future, that is the condition of peace, which through the beginningless agitation strives to the realization of itself and in a mysterious way is already pre-existing — this is the primordial, eternal Buddha Vairocana. He is, consequently, not only in all individual Buddhas that have already achieved the goal, but also in all drops. The entire water already contains in itself its future purity and in this sense presents in itself its future salvation. Therefore through the beginningless darkness, the beginningless light of the "Great Sun" (Japanese *dainiti*) of the Buddha Vairocana is visible. The darkness will be absorbed by it. Then the muddiness in all drops dissolves, the agitation ceases and eternal, inviolable peace begins.

This is what all individual Buddhas, all Bodhisattvas and all higher individuals, beginning with the meditators, support and toward which they strive. This is what the Buddhist is reminded of in his sacred images. You see that here essentially there is no deity, neither in the sense of a creator of the world nor in the sense of its protector. On the contrary, if you like, they are the destroyers of existence that has no beginning. Therefore in Buddhism the agonizing problem of the compatibility of a good Creator with the evil evident in the world could not arise. All the higher beings of Buddhism are only those beings who earlier than others have annihilated the darkness in themselves; thus they are rather the guarantee that the darkness will be destroyed in everyone. These higher beings embody in themselves the condition of peace, the power of enlightenment, the power of striving towards peace which is expressed in the limitless compassion for every being. Of course the goal is not earthly bliss, about which those submerged in the darkness dream, not a paradise on earth, but liberation from existence, liberation not only from a miserable life, but also from happiness and pleasure, which are also vain and dark.

But this is something which people still enveloped in darkness are not able to understand, and they, seeing depictions of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, are easily inclined to lower them to the level of helpers in worldly matters. Popular imagination, unable to reach the heights of the idea of eternal peace, associates worldly ideals with Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. It ascribes to them all the better achievements of man: selflessness, compassion, love toward all beings, wisdom which realizes the frailty of everything worldly. To the popular consciousness, these qualities appear in the images of these higher beings. In popular fantasy they fuse together with ideas connected

earlier with other divine forces of nature and with gods as protectors of the people. Traits of other religious systems, alien images, are very often interwoven in artistic depictions, but their meaning in Buddhism changes — everything is subjected to the immutable teaching of the agitation of life and eternal peace. Buddhism, true to its principles, did not object to their cult, if only through them the path to the final goal was not disturbed. Let man, while he needs it, worship Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara or other Bodhisattvas, even if as protectors. Thereby the abundance of the various divine beings in the popular forms of Buddhism is explained; Buddhism accepted all the existing popular gods — the good ones and the evil ones. Considering them only as manifestations of higher beings in a form accessible to the people, it removed from the world the Evil Principle, the Spirit of Evil; the so-called ferocious forms of the Bodhisattvas are only wrathful manifestations of the same good or super-good principles battling against evil. In Buddhism, there is no Evil Spirit in our sense. Evil — this is only something temporary, and the depictions of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas tell us of salvation, of good, which is eternal. Such ideas appear everywhere in the works of the great Eastern artists, in the expression of the faces of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in painting and sculpture. Unfortunately that which at the present is exhibited among us in Europe is only a pitiful hint of that high art which is present in the better temples of Japan and China.

For all this, however, one must not forget that that about which these works speak is only an indirect allusion to something which essentially is undepictable, inexpressible in words, an allusion to that which is victory over worldly matters.

And from the religious point of view, the attraction to pictorial images is dangerous: for man, given to his imagination, thinking in words and pictures, can easily forget about the most essential, namely, about the purification of that drop of water as which he appears.

Not without purpose, in Buddhism originally, the Buddha was not depicted in human form. We see only a wheel, the symbol of how the teaching of the Buddha disperses the darkness, like a wheel rolling along a road smashes the stones.

At the same time as the epoch during which in Japanese Buddhism sects flourished which occupied themselves with philosophical arguments or intellectual debates about sacred pictures, a partial reaction against this trend arose among some religious figures who placed primary emphasis on meditation, the second path to salvation.

II

The Path of Meditation

Existing even to the present time in Japan, the sect of meditation with its numerous subdivisions goes back to a Chinese sect, founded in the 6th century by a famous Indian from southern India, Bodhidharma, who in A.D. 526 as an old man arrived in a Chinese monastery. The Chinese emperor, having invited the famous monk for an audience, asked him, among other things: "I have built many temples and have done good works, what benefits do I derive from this?" "None!", answered Bodhidharma. Neither philosophy, nor literature, nor painting, nor good deeds are important — all this is worthless. Not to be found in all of this is that which is highest, about which they in vain try to speak. There is only one path. The highest is to be sought in oneself. One must concentrate on the "Unimaginable", on the "Inexpressible", which is within man, one must forget all feelings, all thoughts and must try to experience this "Inexpressible".

Speaking of it, the founder of one of the Zen schools in Japan, the famous Dogen, said the following: "I speak of this and think that I have expressed it, but I see that it remained in the mouth. I point to it and think that I let it slip out of my hands, but I see that my hand is full of it, as before."

It is not to be grasped by thought, not to be expressed by words, one must sense it by a special means, immersing oneself in a special consciousness termed "Zen" (abbreviated and corrupted for Sanskrit "*dhyāna*"). In this condition one experiences peace spontaneously, comes into contact with the Buddha or, more precisely, experiences one's sameness with him without any reasoning, without any words, without any pictures. One ceases to feel of oneself as some kind of "I", fusing into one with his entire surrounding world. Religious meditation was also practiced in the Singon sect, but in that aspect it is much more complex, based on philosophical theories and related to certain secret rites.

Here, in the Zen sect, on the contrary, everything is simple: this is a direct, more spontaneous, so to say, religious experience.

The first followers of Bodhidharma were fanatics; they smashed the icons, burned the sacred books, considering them not only superfluous but also harmful.

There is no greater contrast then that which we see between the Singon sect and the Zen sect. In the one splendour and richness in every aspect, in the other simplicity, taken to the extreme. Of course, the iconoclastic trend could not last long, for in the circles of the meditators themselves, literature and sacred images began to appear.

Nonetheless, simplicity has remained the characteristic sign of this sect up to our time. In its temples you will find only modest implements and a few depictions, mainly of Śākyamuni and his disciples.

The central monasteries of the Zen sect, as, however, those of many other sects, are located in remote sites, in scenic mountains, among dense woods. A particular feature of a monastery of the meditators is its hall of meditation. This is usually a large, long building in which semidarkness reigns; along the walls are arranged low, flat, firm cushions for sitting, sometimes high armchairs with the same cushions. During meditation, one sits with the face to the wall and with crossed legs in the pose that you see in all Buddhist pictures, only somewhat simplified: usually the right leg remains under the left and is not placed on top of it. Sometimes an older teacher leads the assembly, reading and explaining excerpts from a mystical writing, preparing the atmosphere. Then silence begins. Those who sit immerse themselves in meditation about that which can neither be grasped by thoughts nor described in words. One sits for an hour, two, three hours, sometimes even longer. A bell rings — gradually the meditators stir, get up, take a modest meal in silence, perform their usual tasks in the monastery, and again assemble for meditation.

That which is experienced during meditation is indescribable; by no means is it some kind of hallucination, an appearance of some Buddhas, it is no hypnotic dream or something similar. Only an unusual feeling of lightness and spiritual tranquility arises. Whether or not at the end of the meditation the religious experience of the Inconceivable is achieved, this depends on the personality of the meditator. Very many do not achieve the goal.

But in any case the sense of calm, which is achieved by everyone, so favorably influences the human psyche that many travel to the monasteries of the meditators and go through such a course of meditation simply for the sake of spiritual relaxation, to amass new strength for the struggle of life. Thus, already in former times Japanese warriors strengthened their spirit in this way.

In Japanese history, the Zen sect played a prominent role. The Singon sect gave Japan religious art. Here in the Zen monasteries much was born and developed that became an inseparable part of the Japanese way of life — the distinctive poetry that is full of love for the surrounding nature, into which the meditator fuses, the tea ceremony, and much else.

It is difficult to imagine a greater contrast than that between the Singon and the Zen sect. Nevertheless, despite the contrast, both sects are united in that according to their teachings, each person strives toward a final goal exclusively by his own efforts. In this sense, in contradiction to these two sects appears the third creed, which has no

smaller number of followers. This is the teaching of the followers of Amitābha, that Buddha who, as we have seen, opened forever for living beings the access to his "world of paradise".

III

The Path of Faith

At the basis of the path of faith lies the following argument: if even at the time when Śākyamuni lived and taught, only a very few succeeded in reaching the goal, is it conceivable that now, at a time so removed from that of the personal influence of the Teacher, people can achieve perfection by their own efforts? To approach the goal is given only to a few, and the rest, it would seem, are forever doomed to rotate in the vortex of existence, being reborn and reborn without end. But there is a way out. For there is the Buddha Amitābha, who made the vow not to enter into final peace until there is given the possibility for all to reach his pure kingdom. The vow took effect: the Buddha Amitābha entered *nirvāṇa*. Thus, people could abstain from any attempts to reach the goal by their own efforts, attempts beforehand doomed to failure. Firmly believing in the help of Amitābha, they must beg his assistance for rebirth after earthly death in the condition of beings living in his paradise "Sukhāvatī". For an ordinary person it is sufficient to strive toward this, not thinking about final *nirvāṇa*, but simply believing in the power of Amitābha.

Amitābha or, as he is called in Japan, Amida, and his blessed kingdom are situated in the far West, and when the sun sets and the sky catches fire with golden glow, the humbly believing Buddhist imagines seeing the gate to the land of paradise.

The paradise of Amida, by which innumerable Buddhists of Japan, China, Tibet and Mongolia are so fascinated, is, it seems, also only a temporary intermediate level on that long path to final peace, about which the Buddhist confessions do not argue among themselves. Again, from the point of view of the highest dogmatics of Buddhism, this is only one of the approaches to a particular category of living beings, for whom other arguments would be inaccessible. Nevertheless, the path of faith in Amitābha is an idea which is not fully reconciled with the basic teaching of Buddhism about personal effort and personal striving towards the goal, and attacks on Amidaism were frequent from other Buddhist trends. The Amidanists themselves, however, do not deny that there are other paths.

Conclusion

Thus, you have become acquainted with the three basic trends of Japanese Buddhism, together with Buddhism in general. You see that differences arise concerning the path to the goal. The world-view is one and the same everywhere. I purposely do not dwell in greater detail on any of these three trends, since all of them are more or less equal. What is most important is to understand the entire diversity of the Buddhist world and then discover the unity in all this diversity.

In Japan, in recent times, we clearly note a tendency to emphasize just those elements through which the different Buddhist trends are united. The consciousness of community is growing, despite the fact that the sects historically constituted continue to exist.

At the same time one observes anew the vital power of Buddhism in that it begins all the more to adjust to the demands of contemporary life, looking for an approach to the changing living conditions.

A gradual increase in the level of contemporary education among the priesthood is evident; indeed, very many leading Japanese teachers are Buddhist priests who have completed university courses in Europe. The study of European and also Indian philosophy, even from original sources and according to European methods, increases. Gradually, Japanese Buddhism is getting into contact with new trends of scientific thought arriving from Europe, and this confirms what was perceived in Europe earlier concerning Buddhism, namely, that Buddhism is such a religious system that is completely reconcilable with science. Some have supposed that the reason for this phenomenon is that Buddhism is rather more philosophy than religion, or that it is first of all a teaching of morality. This view is profoundly wrong. Basically, Buddhism is first of all a religion. It not only discusses salvation but also strives toward its concrete realization by developing the religious experience of man through meditation. It establishes a community — a church, it establishes a cult and it is imbued with the idea of missionary work.

Indeed, Buddhism does not know a Creator similar to man, it does not know the creation of the world within the confines of history, it does not know a historical Saviour, it rejects the perceptibility of that Highest, which by the Indians is called the World Spirit. He who reckons on these factors as a sign of religion will certainly not recognize Buddhism as a religion. But then, Buddhism will not be a philosophy, but something else.

Buddhism, as we have seen, originates from such teachings about life that do not contradict natural science, but which also cannot be refuted by scientific results.

In Buddhism, there are no dogmas connected with historical events, no dogmas which would compel us to admit to the violation of the laws of nature. The highest beings do not belong to the earthly world. The miraculous element, which we encounter in legends, does not play a role in the highest dogmatics. Buddhism does not require belief in sacred texts; all fundamental principles of Buddhism underwent a strict examination by Buddhist philosophers on the basis of a completely objective, critical theory of cognition.

The teachings about life, about rebirth, about the goal of existence, are based not on observations of a material nature but on psychological considerations. They are an original attempt to resolve the enigma of life, that enigma which natural science is not in the position to resolve.

The questions about morality, the questions about the goal of life, the questions about salvation — none of them belong to the domain of science, and wherever our contemporary science attempts to answer them, it definitely abandons the grounds of science and becomes philosophy and religion, where it is not objective observations but a different set of considerations that is decisive.

Thus, in Japan we do not see conflicts between Buddhism and science, for they are essentially impossible.

For the practical life of Oriental man Buddhism provides comprehensive answers; it teaches people to live according to the law of morality, convincing them by means of the teaching of the "heredity" of retribution. The less developed it convinces by more crude means — through fear of punishment, the more seriously thinking — by pointing to the transience of all that is real and to the final goal — salvation in the eternal peace of *nirvāṇa*.

Furthermore, a sense of responsibility develops in man, he realizes that he himself is guilty, if he has to suffer, for he knows that the gradual cessation of the process of existence depends on himself. In the same sense in which he is the successor to his own past, he himself creates his own future.

On the other hand, Buddhism teaches people how to die — to die without fear, for according to its teaching about rebirth, the so-called life beyond the grave, which frightens people, is not something mysterious and unknown; it accustoms one to the idea that it is only a repetition of the same kind of life, with just the same sufferings and joys. The Buddhist is reconciled to the idea that he will live again, he will suffer again, for he knows that this will be suffering of the same kind as that which he experiences now.

It is clear that those who have mastered such a teaching live peacefully and die without fear. To understand this teaching is the key to the Eastern soul.

The rapprochement of Europe with the East intensifies, more and more the barriers that separate people are being torn down. But we cannot understand the peoples of the East unless we know their soul; we will not understand that by which their best thinkers, artists and poets live and are being inspired, if we do not know that by which the broad masses of the people live.

Many have said that the West and the East will never understand each other. But you see the frontiers are already disappearing: where is the West, where is the East? There is still very, very much about Eastern life that we do not understand. But does this give us the right to be at ease, saying that we will never understand the East? We must try to understand it, to understand it better than we do now. Here religion and philosophy can serve us as the best key, especially Buddhism, which unites all the peoples of East Asia. When people speak of the incomprehensibility of the East, they usually have in mind the Far East, China and Japan. India we consider rather closer to us. For with ancient India the European peoples are connected by distant racial bonds; a kinship of languages also draws us together. Indian poetry and Indian philosophy already long ago came into contact with Europe. Although there is still very much that is unknown to us, we nevertheless consider India to some degree belonging to us.

And the Buddhists of China, Japan und Central Asia, Tibet and Mongolia consider that same India as something of their own; the highest ideas of the religious and philosophical conceptions of life and death they have taken from India, and if such an assimilation of Indian thought was possible for the East, supposedly so heterogenous in comparison with us, then it has to be asked whether the difference is really so radical.

Perhaps the abyss dividing the soul of the West from the soul of the East is not so deep, perhaps Buddhism, which on religious grounds has united India with the Far East, has already built a bridge. For that which we find in the best and deepest works of literature and art in the Far East, that is the Buddhist thought or echoes of it, that is Indian thought, which in many ways is so close and related to us. This is the thought that comes back from the Far East to the West. It indicates to us the way to an understanding of that which is truly new, which is neither found in India nor among us. And there is no doubt that in the course of time, when the cultural riches of the East become better known, much of what now seems to us strange and incomprehensible will be understood and will be transformed into something near and familiar to us, it will become our own.

Otto O. Rosenberg (1888-1919): Brilliant Young Russian Buddhologist

JOHN S. BARLOW

From the preceeding three articles, it is evident that Otto Rosenberg, despite his untimely and tragic death at the age of 31 years, was a key figure in the history of Buddhology in Russia. It is the purpose of this article to give a picture of Rosenberg's life and career and something of the legacy of this outstanding Buddhologist, drawing primarily on available published sources, largely in Russian. Additional material is included which has only recently come to light concerning Rosenberg's last days, and concerning the significant but little-known role played by his widow in establishing his legacy.

Unfortunately, none of Rosenberg's works on Buddhology has heretofore been available in English. His best-known work, *Problems of Buddhist Philosophy*, the second part of his dissertation, was originally published in Russian (1918),[1] later in German translation (1924b),[2] the latter being reprinted in Taipei (1976, 1983).[3] More recently, *Problems*, together with his 1919 St. Petersburg Exposition Lecture ("O mirosozertsanii sovremennogo buddizma na Dal'nem Vostoke" ["The World-View of Contemporary Buddhism in the Far East"])[4] was reprinted in Russian with an introduction and extensive notes as *O.O.Rozenberg: Trudy po buddizmu (Works on Buddhism)*[5] (1991), unfortunately already out of print and now difficult to obtain despite a press run of 10,000 copies.

In addition to his contributions in Buddhology, Rosenberg also made very significant contributions in the field of lexicography of the Chinese characters (kanji, in Japanese).

Available biographical accounts of the life of Rosenberg include a little-known one by Rosenberg's student, Baiev (1920),[6] and by Rosenberg's senior colleagues at the

---

1 O.O. Rozenberg, *Vvedenie v izuchenie buddizma po yaponskim i kitajskim istochnikam. Ch. II. Problemy buddijskoj filosofii.* Izdanie Fakul'teta Vostochnykh yazykov Petrogradskogo universiteta, No. 45, Petrograd 1918. (*Introduction to the Study of Buddhism According to Japanese and Chinese Sources. Part II: Problems of Buddhist Philosophy.* Press of the Faculty of Oriental Languages, Petrograd University, No. 45, Petrograd 1918).

2 O. Rosenberg, *Die Probleme der Buddhistischen Philosophie.* Heidelberg 1924 (Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, herausgegeben von Dr. M. Walleser, Professor in Heidelberg, 7./8. Heft).

3 Reprinted by Chinese Materials Center, Taipei (Reprint Series, No. 52), 1976, 1983.

4 See this issue for an English translation.

5 O.O.Rozenberg, *Trudy po buddizmu.* Moskva, Nauka, 1991.

6 A.A. Baiev, "Russkaya nauka: O.O.Rozenberg." ("Russian Scholarship: O.O. Rosenberg") In: *Svoboda Rossii (Freedom of Russia)* (Tallinn), 28 May 1920, p. 3.

University of St. Petersburg, Ol'denburg (1922)[7] and Shcherbatskoj (1924).[8] Other, briefer accounts are given by Semeka (1983),[9] Zhol' (1984),[10] and Ignatovich (1991).[11] A longer article about Rosenberg by Mikhajlova has appeared in Russian (1987a)[12] as well as in English (1987b).[13] In a newly published monograph on the history of Russian Oriental studies a short account of Rosenberg's life is also given.[14]

The Preparatory Years

Most of the details of Rosenberg's life and career appear in the biographical sketch by his mentor at the University of St. Petersburg, Prof. Feodor I. Shcherbatskoj (Theodore Shcherbatsky) (1924)[15], which was prepared to accompany the German translation (by Dr. Ph. Schaefer) of Rosenberg's 1919 St. Petersburg Buddhist Exposition lecture.[16] The first part of Shcherbatskoj's biographical sketch, in translation from the German, follows:

---

7 S. Ol'denburg, "Pamyati O.O. Rozenberga (1888-1920)." ("Memories of O.O. Rosenberg") In: *Mysl'. Zhurnal Peterburgskogo filosofskovo obshchestva (Thought. Journal of the St. Petersburg Philosophical Society)*, No. 1 (yanvar'-fevral') 1922, pp. 157-158.

8 Th. Shcherbatsky, "Prof. Dr. O. Rosenberg: Eine Biographische Skizze", in: O. Rosenberg, *Die Weltanschauung des modernen Buddhismus im fernen Osten,* Heidelberg 1924 (Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, herausgegeben von Dr. M. Walleser, Professor in Heidelberg, 6. Heft), pp. 44-47.

9 E.S. Semeka, "Rozenberg, Otto Karl Julius", in: *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History,* 1983, 31, p. 211.

10 K.K. Zhol', "Tvorcheskoe nasledie O.O. Rozenberga (Biografiya i kriticheskij ocherk metodologii kul'turno-istoricheskogo poznaniya)" ("The Creative Legacy of O.O. Rosenberg (Biography and Critical Essay on the Methodology of the Cultural-Historical Perception")), in: *Formirovanie gumanisticheskikh traditsij otechestvennogo vostokovedeniya (do 1917 goda) (The Forming of the Tradition of the Humanities in Russian Oriental Studies (up to 1917)).* Moskva, Nauka, 1984. Glavnaya redaktsiya Vostochnoj Literatury.

11 A.N. Ignatovich, "O.O. Rozenberg i ego trudy po buddizmu" ("O.O. Rosenberg and His Works on Buddhism"), in: *O.O. Rozenberg: Trudy po buddizmu (Works on Buddism).* Moskva, Nauka, 1991, pp. 6-17.

12 Yu.D. Mikhajlova, "Vydayushchijsya buddolog O.O. Rozenberg (1888-1919)" ("The Eminent Buddhologist O.O. Rosenberg"), in: *Problemy Dal'nego Vostoka (Problems of the Far East)* 3 (63), 1987a, pp. 87-96.

13 Yu. Mikhajlova, "Russian Buddhologist Otton Rosenberg (1888-1919), in: *Far Eastern Affairs,* 1987b, No. 4, pp. 76-86.

14 See A.A. Vigasin, A.N. Khokhlov, and P.M. Shastitko (ed.), *Istoriya otechestvennogo vostokovedeniya s serediny XIX veka do 1917 goda (History of Russian Oriental Studies from the Middle of the 19th Century to the Year 1917),* Moscow, 1997, "Vostochnaya literatura", pp. 428-430. I am grateful to Ms. Anna Arthur, of the Slavic Section, Widener Library, Harvard University, for bringing this reference to my attention.

15 See note 8.

16 O. Rosenberg, "Die Weltanschauung des modernen Buddhismus im fernen Osten", in: *Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus*, No. 6, 1924, pp. 3-43; see also note 4.

"Otto Karl Julius Rosenberg (in Russian, Otton Ottonovich) was born in Friedrichstadt (Courland)[17] [now Jaunjelgava, Latvia] on 7 July 1888, the son of the city archivist, Otto Rosenberg and his wife Augusta, née Weidenbaum. Growing up in St. Petersburg from his third year on, he attended the German St. Catherine School there from 1898 and graduated in 1905 with highest honors — the gold medal.

In the fall of the same year, he began his studies at the Oriental Faculty of the University of St. Petersburg, where he chose Sanskrit and Chinese as his principal studies and philosophy from the general studies. In the summer semester of 1909, he attended the University of Bonn, Germany, where he studied Sanskrit with Prof. H. Jacobi for a short time, but he soon had to interrupt his work there and return to St. Petersburg because of family considerations. In the summer semester of 1910, he studied Japanese with Prof. Lange at the University of Berlin in the Department of Oriental Languages. In 1910, he graduated from the University of St. Petersburg with honors, and he was granted a stipend with which he could continue his studies at a measured pace, in preparation for an academic career. According to the laws then in existence, an appointment as professor could occur only after passing a defense of one or two dissertations (published works of a prescribed length) before a public meeting of the faculty, on the basis of which the faculty conferred first the master's and subsequently the doctoral titles, or, in exceptional cases, both at once. Accordingly, it was up to the young scholar to choose a topic for his future dissertation defense.

Already during his university time, I had brought to Rosenberg's attention the great significance of the work of Vasubandhu, Abhidharmakośa, and he started on the study of this, since Tibetan, Chinese and Sanskrit sources were abundantly available in the Petersburg Asiatic Museum. When I was in Calcutta in 1911, I came to know the Japanese cleric, Yamakami Joshen, who was then head of the university there, and I learned from him many interesting details concerning the study of Abhidharmakośa in Japan, including the traditional explanation of it, which is still alive there. I wrote this to Rosenberg, and he decided to go to Japan so as to become familiar, on the site, with the traditional interpretation. The faculty concurred, and granted the necessary funds for the trip.

For a full four years in Japan, Rosenberg worked unceasingly with the Chinese and Japanese sources. The first task to accomplish in the investigation of them consisted in creating a means whereby the immense mass of the sources could be surveyed. To be sure, there exist various indices and lexicons of technical terms written by Japanese, but these are arranged in such a

[17] In this connection, Prof. Ants Meister of the Technical University of Tallinn, Estonia, in response to my inquiry about information concerning Rosenberg in Tallinn (Reval), has very kindly provided me with the following: in the Russian Encyclopedic Dictionary (St. Petersburg, 1900), Vol. 27, there is an entry stating that Rosenberg (Rozenberg) was a noble family that came from Moravia to Curland in the beginning of the 16th century and the name is included in the Register of Curland Nobility and also in the 5th part of the Nobility Register of Novgorod province; the names Johan Karl Ferdinand Rosenberg (born 1845) and Otto August Rosenberg (1800-1890) follow in the entry. Rosenberg may therefore have been descended from nobility.

way as to be quite useless to us. Rosenberg was forced to rework the entire material and to reorder it in a way we could use. The result of this effort was a large work: *A Survey of Buddhist Terms and Names, Arranged According to Radicals, with Japanese Readings and Sanskrit Equivalents, Supplemented by Addition of Terms and Names Relating to Shinto and Japanese History*, Tokyo, 1916. The printing costs were borne by St. Petersburg University. In the judgment of Prof. K.W. Müller and Dr. Tautz, the work is fundamental in this field, and no future investigator could do without this resource.

In the course of this work, Rosenberg hit upon the idea that it was also possible to order Chinese characters in a way that very closely approximated an alphabetical arrangement. In his large dictionary, Rosenberg could only partially employ this new system, and presented it in a special dictionary under the title: *Arrangement of Chinese Characters according to an alphabetical System with Japanese Dictionary of Eight Thousand Characters and List of Twenty-two Thousand Characters*, Tokyo 1916 (Kobunsha).

In the summer of 1916, Rosenberg returned from Japan to St. Petersburg in the midst of the unfortunate war, the disastrous consequences of which plunged Russia into the abyss of chaos, and inflicted a sudden end to the life of high promise of the young scholar.

Rosenberg completed his habilitation [qualification for lecturing] in the Oriental Faculty of the University of St. Petersburg and at the same time devoted himself to the preparation and printing of his dissertation, already sketched out in Japan, under the title: *Problems of Buddhist Philosophy*. Printing was very difficult during the war, but he succeeded in seeing it through, nonetheless. In the fall of 1918, the dissertation appeared, and on 8 October of the same year, the defense took place in a public meeting of the faculty. Those who served as opponents were the author of these lines and also the Professors Ivanov, Alekseev, Ol'denburg, and Marr. Among the opponents, the work was especially strongly criticized by Prof. Alekseev, in whose opinion the work in itself was good but it was not a good dissertation, since in a dissertation, in the first place, there should be a fundamental and adequate investigation of the texts, whereas in Rosenberg's dissertation there was indeed an interesting general survey and interpretation of Buddhism, but the preparatory treatment of the sources according to strict philological methods was not evident. Rosenberg succeeded in refuting this objection, and besides, the work was praised so much by the other side that the faculty conferred on him both titles, master and doctor, one of the very rare such instances in the annals of the faculty. Chance willed it that on the same day of this faculty meeting, the new degree of the revolutionary government arrived, the consequence of which was to abolish all academic titles completely, and so it was Rosenberg's fate to hold the last doctorate title from a Russian university.

Rosenberg was professor from the summer of 1919. In addition, he was assistant to the custodian of the Ethnographic Department of the Russian Museum (formerly, Alexander III), member of the Russian Committee for the Study of Central- and East Asia, and also a member of the (formerly Imperial) Geographic and Archaeological Societies..."

Mikhajlova (1987b)[18] gives a more complete picture of Rosenberg as a linguist; his studies of languages included: Sanskrit, Prakrit, Pāli, Tibetan, Chinese, Japanese, Mongolian, English, French, Italian, German, Greek, and Latin.

Rosenberg's Approach to Buddhism

A perspective of Rosenberg's approach to the study of Buddhism was provided in the memoir by Ol'denburg (1922)[19]:

"... However varied were his interests, the one field that was closest and dearest to him was that of the philosophical principles of Buddhism. As a gifted student of his teacher, F. I. Shcherbatskoj, who had done so much for the elucidation of the beginning of Buddhist philosophy, Rozenberg naturally turned his attention to the question of how little Buddhist canonical texts gave for a thorough understanding of the true principles of Buddhism. In these canons, that approach to the "middle" religious understanding was palpable in every step, which, true to the basic idea of the great Indian teacher to give to each according to the measure of the latter's understanding, yet did not permit to comprehend the teaching of Buddhism in its full depth. Such a deeper understanding would have to be sought in the works of the later Buddhist philosophers, who in their own writings provided the key to the true understanding of the canonical texts; in other words — the basic understanding of Buddhism is to be sought in the indigenous tradition.

And here the great merit of Rozenberg was as much his method of investigation as his results, which he set forth in the second part of his *Introduction* under the title of *Problems of Buddhist Philosophy*. He turned to the source of contemporary Buddhist tradition in the Far East, seeking it in Japanese monasteries, among the elder monks who had passed through a strict philosophical school. In this way, Rozenberg came upon the trail of commentaries not investigated previously in the West originating from the famous Chinese teacher of the VII century, Xuan Zhang, who, as is well known, in a description of his travels in India, left us one of our most important sources for the knowledge of pre-Islamic India. The commentaries of Xuan Zhang helped Rozenberg to go deep down into earlier sources, the works of the most famous Buddhist philosophers, among whom one of the leading positions must be given to Vasubandhu.

Amid an unusual uncertainty about the dating of the different authors, it was necessary to keep in mind the constantly repeating apocryphalicality of the works added to the ancient authors. Rozenberg was entirely correct when, explaining the methods he used, he said: "It is evident that, even if one succeeds in establishing exactly the dates of the protagonists of Buddhism, one

---

18 See note 13.

19 See note 7.

would still have, for each of the preserved works taken separately, to resolve the question, does it really belong to the author to whom it had been attributed?" and further: "The determination of the position of one or another work in the history of Buddhist thought is only possible on the basis of a critique of its contents." For this, an elucidation of the basic problems of Buddhism is necessary, which was indeed done in the most brilliant way in the aforementioned book of Rozenberg, a book that truly occupies a most distinguished position in the history of the study of Buddhism.

Rozenberg, after this work, and despite the extraordinarily difficult living conditions in 1918 and in the following years [sic], succeeded in working on a collection on Buddhist cult and iconography in the Russian Museum, becoming the guiding spirit of the Buddhist Exposition in 1920 [1919] and presenting an important lecture about Buddhism in Korea and Japan at the Exposition, which was published in the same year and has now been reprinted. For "Sciences and Schools", in the series, "Introduction to Science", he had begun to write and had almost finished a most interesting introduction to the study of Indian philosophy, "The Philosophy of the East", which will be completed by his friends. There was the expectation of a new visit to Japan, where Rozenberg's Buddhist friends impatiently awaited him, and where he himself aspired to go, to carry out an immense plan that he had proposed to the Academy of Sciences and which it had accepted, for the compiling of a great Chinese-Japanese-Russian-English dictionary, important material for which he had already collected on many thousands of index cards during his earlier stay in Japan. Rozenberg's work on deciphering Chinese inscriptions from Buddhist caves near Dunhuang, which had been brought to light by S. F. Ol'denburg in 1915, also proceeded rapidly. All, it seemed, promised the brightest and glorious future to one who had so brilliantly begun his scholarly journey..."

Some additional details about Rosenberg's approach to the study of Buddhism were provided by Baiev[20] (1920), a student of Rosenberg:

"... While still at the University, it became clear to him that the study of Buddhism could not be limited to only Indian sources. Following in the footsteps of his predecessor, Academician Vasil'ev, he decided to undertake the study of Chinese and Japanese sources. His subsequent work proved how correct the course he had taken was.

During his stay in Japan, Rozenberg did not limit himself to purely academic work. His deep conviction led him to the conclusion that it is not only from books that knowledge of Buddhism can be derived, but also from the oral tradition still preserved in Buddhist monasteries.

He became acquainted with scholars of the most important sects of Japanese Buddhism, in a Zen monastery he gave himself up to practical mysticism, and in a Shinto monastery he studied dogma and symbolism under the guidance of learned elders.

---

20 See note 6. For the discovery of, and a copy of, the account by Baiev, I am again greatly indebted to Prof. Meister.

However, Rozenberg's apprenticeship with Buddhist scholars still did not direct him to the true path, for, although the oral tradition preserved the principal solutions to the problems of symbolism, it could not preserve a true understanding of the problems of philosophy. Accordingly, he began to study the ancient philosophical texts on his own, without the assistance of Japanese Buddhists. From this, he came to understand that Buddhist philosophy itself is a powerful system that could resolve all of the problems of contemporary philosophy and philology, which is of very great interest and significance for the current period, which is already at the threshold of the destruction of the old world-view.
Rozenberg had to study texts that were completely unknown to European scholarship as well as those that had already been translated by Europeans scholars, but translated incorrectly, purely philologically and lexically, that is, according to that method against which he fought all the time."

Shcherbatskoj confirms that Rosenberg practiced meditation in a Zen monastery:

"The late Prof. O. Rosenberg has himself practised some yoga-meditation in a Zen monastery in Japan. He used to compare the agreeable feeling of ease which he then experienced to the effect produced by music, especially when executed personally."[21]

There can be little doubt that Rosenberg's stay in Japan left a profound impression on him, as is evident from excerpts from his letters from Japan (Mikhajlova 1987b).[22] Indeed, at a small commemoration (suggested by the present author) at Harvard University in 1988 on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary year of Rosenberg's birth, Alexander Pyatigorskij,[23] in his talk "Otto Rosenberg's Understanding of Buddhist Philosophy", remarked that Rosenberg was conscious of himself not as a philosopher, western or any other, not as a student of Buddhism, but in a way as a Buddhist philosopher himself.

The Final Tragedy — Rosenberg's Death During the Russian Civil War

The tragic end of Rosenberg's life in 1919 during the Russian Civil War was recounted by Shcherbatskoj (1924):[24]

---

21 Th. Stcherbatsky [F.I. Shcherbatskoj], *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāna*, Leningrad 1927, Indian reprint (1978), pt. II, p. 18, note 1. I am indebted to Dr. K. Kollmar-Paulenz for calling my attention to this reference.

22 See note 13.

23 See note 33.

24 See note 8.

"... During the siege of St. Petersburg by General Yudenich, Rosenberg was by chance cut off from St. Petersburg and upon the retreat of this army, he had to seek refuge first in Estonia and then in Finland. From there he intended to go via America to Japan, so as to continue his work there. As a consequence of this hardship, he became ill with scarlet fever and died on November 26, 1919.
Concerning his last hours, his widow wrote me the following:'He was firmly convinced that he would regain his health, sat mostly in bed, and wrote letters to Tokyo, and read foreign newspapers when the physician had already given him up. To the last, he had not suffered at all.'"

Ol'denburg (1922)[25] was more poignant in his account:

"A young man, filled with brilliant ideas, with a consciousness of great achievements in his chosen field of knowledge, Otton Ottonovich Rozenberg, has died; he fell, a victim to our difficult years, from a terrible infection, the young organism struck down and undermined by deprivations...
All, it seemed, promised the brightest and most glorious future to one who had so brilliantly begun his journey.
But cruel fate, which more than once has dealt the most cruel blows to Russian scholarship, once again did not spare it. At the very height of the work which the young scholar carried on heroically under the most severe conditions of cold, hunger, and physical labor almost beyond his strength, this jewel of a life was cut short. Even his manuscripts and books were not spared; even with the greatest effort, only devastated remnants of this most precious scholarly property could be saved; much of that which he had begun could have been completed but is now lost forever, victims of our savagery and ignorance. In truth, we do not know to preserve the most precious of what we have created; often we create only soon to destroy senselessly.
The name of Otton Ottonovich Rozenberg has been inscribed on the pages of the history of the study of the philosophy and religions of the East, and will never be forgotten among us in Russia or in the West or in the East!"

Baiev (1920)[26] gives some additional details:

"On the 26th of November 1919, in the city of Reval [Tallinn], one of the outstanding philosophers and orientalists, not only in Russia but in the entire civilized world, a professor of the Faculty of Oriental Languages at the University of Petrograd, Otton Ottonovich Rozenberg, died of paralysis of the heart.

---

25 See note 7.

26 See note 6.

Half a year has passed from the day of his death, but his works, both in the field of philosophy and in the field of philology, still remain altogether unknown, not only in the wide circle of the reading public, but even among European scholars. This is understandable, for in the last few years, the work of Rozenberg went on in the all-encompassing chains of Soviet Russia, deprived of every means of intercourse with the outside world...
The offensive of Yudenich on Petrograd disrupted Rozenberg's usual arrangements for work. Living in Pavlovsk, he had to leave with the retreating army — but he had hardly left when, at the very moment of flowering of his scholarly activities, and unknown to anyone, he died. In Narva [just inside the Estonian border], he fell ill with scarlet fever. His exhausted body could endure no more, and soon after that illness had run its course, paralysis of heart befell him.
Not only Russia but also the entire world of scholarship has sustained a great loss in the death of Prof. Rozenberg. He had only one pupil — a pupil who presently considers it his duty to continue the great work begun by Rozenberg, of not only restoring a brilliant philosophical system, but also of bringing this system into contact with the philosophical systems of the West."

Rosenberg's Legacy

Shcherbatskoj (1924), in his biographical sketch, completes Rosenberg's scholarly legacy as follows:

"Besides the previously mentioned writings, he also authored: 1. in the series, *Mitteil. der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Jahreschronik 1918*: 'Religion, Philosophy, Buddhist Studies'; 2. A lecture at the Buddhist Exposition in St. Petersburg, 1919: 'Buddhist World-view in the Far East' (in Russian); 3. 'Religion and Philosophy', an essay in a collection prepared by the St. Petersburg Society of Orientalists, in Russian, printed but not yet published; 4. A complete Japanese-Russian Dictionary (manuscript in possession of the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg)."

And from Baiev (1920):

"Rozenberg's last works were, 'Introduction to Oriental Philosophy' (Petrograd, 1919), in which he endeavored, through western philosophy, to give an approach to the philosophy of the East, and a lecture he read at the First Buddhist Exposition in Petrograd (in the autumn of 1919), which was devoted to the Buddhist world-view in the contemporary Far East...
...Subsequent works in this series were to include: 'A Historical Survey of Buddhism and its Literature', and 'Buddhist Dogma, Symbolism, and Mysticism', — works which, after Rozenberg's death, were fated never to appear."

Apart from, or more exactly, in conjunction with, his contributions in Buddhology, Rosenberg[27] also made a very significant contribution to the difficult problem of ordering Chinese characters in lists, which arises because they are not alphabetically based. Rosenberg perfected such a graphical, or as he called it, "alphabetical system" in connection with the preparation of the first part of his dissertation, which was a multi-lingual vocabulary of Buddhist terms (Rosenberg 1916b).[28] Baiev (1920) gives some further details:

"During his stay in Japan, he compiled and published two dictionaries. The first [Rosenberg 1916a] was a brilliant arrangement of the complex Chinese written language not by the 214 radicals, according to which it had been arranged up to that time, but according to a completely different, significantly simpler system.

By this method, the search for any given of the 48,000 characters of the Chinese written language becomes a very brief matter. This dictionary established a new epoch not only in European philology in the sense of the study of the Chinese language, but also in the local Japanese philology, significantly simplifying, for the Chinese and Japanese themselves, the study of their own language and literature. This dictionary was published in Tokyo in 1916.

The second dictionary [Rosenberg 1916b] brings together philosophical, religious, and religious-historical terms in the literature that had been translated. It embraces Chinese, Japanese, Sanskrit, and Pāli — the language of the ancient Buddhist books. This dictionary is of fundamental importance for an advanced scientific study of the teachings of Buddhism.

...Absorbed in philosophy, Rozenberg very well recognized that rectifying an erroneous comprehension of oriental philosophy required preparation of the soil for a correct understanding, that is, a correct translation of oriental texts. This explains his intensive work toward the compilation of Japanese, Chinese, Tibetan and Korean dictionaries, drafts of which are presently at the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Petrograd.

To give a conception of this work, suffice it to say that the Japanese-European dictionary comprises 250,000 file cards."

---

27 O.O. Rosenberg, *Arrangement of Chinese Characters According to An Alphabetical System with Japanese Dictionary of Eight Thousand Characters and List of Twenty-two Thousand Characters*, Tokyo, Kobunsha, 1916a. (Prefatory text in Japanese and English).

28 O.O. Rozenberg, *Vvedenie v izuchenie buddizma po yaponskim i kitajskim istochnikam, ch. pervaya: Svod'' leksikograficheskago materiala. (Introduction to the Study of Buddhism According to Material Preserved in Japan and China, part I: Vocabulary.* A Survey of Buddhist Terms and Names Arranged According to Radicals with Japanese Readings and Sanskrit Equivalents. Supplemented by Addition of Terms and Names Relating to Shinto and Japanese History). Izdanie Fakul'teta Vostochnykh yazykov Petrogradskovo universiteta, No. 45, Petrograd. (Published by the Faculty of Oriental Languages of the Imperial University of Petrograd), Tokyo, 1916.

Mikhajlova (1987b)[29] mentions a plan of Rosenberg, with four collaborators in St. Petersburg, for a dictionary for Chinese characters (Kanji, in Japanese), to be ordered according to the graphical system, for which he had already collected a large amount of material.

The system of Rosenberg (1916a) for arranging Chinese characters, termed by him an "alphabetical arrangement", later became the standard system in the former USSR.[30] The present author has added an English text to Mudrov (1980)[31] so that Rosenberg's system is now available to English-language readers as a trilingual Chinese-Russian-English dictionary (Barlow 1995)[32] that includes the Preface and Introduction of Rosenberg's 1916 monograph, which is now an extremely rare book.

Some Final Points about the Rosenbergs' Fate

Although the several biographical accounts provide considerable information about Rosenberg's life, some questions had nonetheless lingered about the exact circumstances of his leaving Russia and about his death. Thus Pyatigorskij (1971)[33], in a footnote to his article about Rosenberg and terminology in Buddhology, stated:

"There are several versions of the death of Rozenberg. According to one of them, he drowned while boating in the Gulf of Finland. According to another, he died about 1921 in the Far East from a chill or from typhus. According to a third (documented more strongly), he died in Pavlovsk [his suburban home near St. Petersburg] about 1920."

Further, the accounts by Mikhajlova (1987b)[34] and Semeka (1983)[35] give September 26, 1919, as the date of Rosenberg's death, whereas those by Baiev (1920) and Shcherbatskoj (1924) give November 26, two months later.

---

29 See note 13.

30 See, for example, V.G. Mudrov (ed.), *Kitajsko-Russkij Slovar' (Chinese-Russian Dictionary)*, Moskva 1980 (1988), Izdatel'stvo "Russkij yazyk", as a medium-size, and I.M. Oshanin (ed.), *Bol'shoj Kitajsko-Russkij Slovar' (Large Chinese-Russian Dictionary)*, 4 vols., Moskva 1983-1984, Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", Glavnaya redaktsiya Vostochnoj Literatury, as a large-size dictionary.

31 See the preceeding note.

32 J.S. Barlow, *A Chinese-Russian-English Dictionary (Mudrov's Chinese-Russian Dictionary with an English Text and Appendices)*. Univ. of Hawaii Press, 1995.

33 A.M. Pyatigorskij, *O.O. Rozenberg i problema yazyka opisaniya v buddologii. (O.O. Rosenberg and the Problem of Terminology in Buddhology).* Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis No. 284, 1971, pp. 423-436.

34 See note 13.

35 See note 9.

In addition to the questions about Rosenberg himself, there also remained the question of the fate of his widow.

It proved possible to shed considerable light on these questions during a week's visit to St. Petersburg by the present author in the spring of 1995, owing to the superb organizational work of Dr. Tatyana Yermakova of the Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg Branch, Russian Academy of Sciences[36], who gave unstintingly of her time to this cause during that period. Dr. Yermakova was already familiar with the Rosenberg archives, which are now located partly at the Institute of Oriental Studies and partly at the Russian Museum (Manuscript Division) in St. Petersburg.

The Rosenberg archives from the Ethnographic Museum, where Rosenberg worked,[37] which were reviewed with Dr. Yermakova, proved very informative. Of significance were the following, in relation to chronology: Rosenberg had returned from a two-week vacation on October 4, 1919; his salary as curator of the Ethnographic Section was terminated from October 20 and his employment was terminated on October 25, retroactive to October 20; he was formally relieved of service on November 12, also retroactive to October 20, 1919.

The date of October 20, 1919 was thus obviously of great significance in relation to the career of Otto Rosenberg. At the time, Rosenberg and his wife were living in Pavlovsk, about 30 kilometres south of St. Petersburg. From my subsequent review of references, mainly at the Hoover Institution in Stanford, California,[38] concerning the White (Northwest) Russian Army offensive under General Yudenich against St. Petersburg, it became clear that October 20 marked the date of its furthest advance, reaching Tsarskoe Selo (now Pushkin) and Pavlovsk. However, on October 23, just three days later, the counterattack by the Red Army began, and Tsarskoe Selo and Pavlovsk were reoccupied on that date (or on October 25, according to another reference). On November 23, the retreating White Army reached the Estonian border. According to Baiev (1920) and Shcherbatskoj (1924), Rosenberg died just three days later, on November 26.

---

36 See also the first two articles in this issue.

37 The archives are now among the holdings at the Russian Museum, as just mentioned.

38 G. Drujina, *The History of the North-West Army of General Yudenich*. Doctoral Dissertation (History), Stanford University, 1950 (copy at the Hoover Institution, Stanford, California).

From this comparative chronology, it seems evident that the Rosenbergs left Pavlovsk on or about October 23 with the retreating Yudenich White Army before the counterattacking Red Army, a conclusion that is substantiated by information of another source:[39]

"In a letter of 1919 from S.G. Eliseev to one of his relatives, in which he told of the situation in Petrograd (St. Petersburg) in the fall of 1919, approximately the following is stated: 'The second offensive of [General] Yudenich was underway. The city was under siege, there were searches, arrests.' At this point, there was a footnote by Eliseev: 'The Whites were retreating from Pavlovsk and Tsarskoe Selo. With them, with the Whites, Otton Ottonovich Rozenberg left. He was immediately set up in Yudenich's Ministry of People's Education. After the rout of Yudenich, he escaped to Reval [Tallinn] and intended to go on to Finland, but he fell ill from scarlet fever and died. His wife escaped to Finland, where she became governess with some family.'

At this point a footnote was added at the end of the publication of the letter: 'This note by Eliseev explains convincingly for the first time the circumstances of the death of Otton Ottonovich Rozenberg (1888—1919), an outstanding Japanologist and historian of Buddhist philosophy. For a long time, there had been contradictory rumours about the cause and place of his death. Only recently was it established that Otton Ottonovich Rozenberg died in Reval, but even so, it remained unknown how he came to Estonia from Pavlovsk, where he had lived, and where remained his library. The illness that took O.O. Rozenberg's life was exanthemous fever. He evidently very rapidly became a victim of the typhus epidemic which at the end of 1919 and the beginning of 1920 was fatal to three thousand soldiers and officers of the White Northwest Army. (See: Levitskij, D. "Vspomnili soldat Yudenicha." ('Recollections of Soldiers of Yudenich'), Izvestiya, 2 November, 1992)"

The details of the Rosenbergs' departure from Pavlovsk with the retreating Yudenich army thus become clearer, and at the same time, the date of death for Rosenberg of September 26, 1919, as given by Mikhajlova (1987b) and by Semeka (1983) seems clearly an error.

It was not possible to confirm subsequently, from the Yudenich Archives at the Hoover Institution, that Rosenberg had been appointed to the Ministry of Public Education in the Yudenich Government. Nor was it possible to obtain direct evidence that Rosenberg

---

39 A copy of this account, which was said to have been originally published in Russian in: *Uroki gneva i lyubvi (Lessons of Anger and Love)*, Issue No. 4, St. Petersburg, 1993, was very generously given to me by Dr. Isolda Tsiperovich of the Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg.

had died in Tallinn (Estonia).[40] The Estonian State Archives for 1919-1920 had been destroyed during the Russian bombardment of Tallinn in March of 1944 and nothing about Rosenberg's death could be found in the Russian, Estonian, or German newspapers for November and December of 1919. Evidently the publication of the newspapers was interrupted at this time perhaps because of the proximity of the front, or at least copies were not among the holdings of the Estonian National Library.

The Ultimate Fate of Rosenberg's Widow and Her Part in His Legacy

In the previously quoted biographical sketch of Rosenberg by Shcherbatskoj (1924), the latter mentioned having received a letter from Rosenberg's widow after Rosenberg's death: "Concerning his last hours, his widow wrote me..." This was the only indication in the several biographical accounts that Rosenberg had a wife. On the other hand, the publication in 1924 of the German text of Rosenberg's dissertation, "Problems of Buddhist Philosophy", gave the name of a Mrs. E. Rosenberg as translator and copyright-owner.[41]

Clarification of what had transpired in the period between Rosenberg's death in 1919 and the publication of the German text in 1924 became possible on the basis of four letters, written in Helsinki (then Helsingfors), from Elfrida Rosenberg, Rosenberg's widow, to Shcherbatskoj within the period of a month in the spring of 1923.[42] In the letters,[43] Elfrida Rosenberg wrote that she had already begun work on preparing the German translation in 1920 (apparently originally on her own initiative and in the absence of a prospect for publication). Progress had been slow because of difficulty in finding time amid her duties as a governess, lack of reference works, and inability to find an expert in the Russian and German languages who was also an expert in Buddhism. The letters indicate that it was at about this time that Shcherbatskoj, apparently then travelling in Western Europe, completed the arrangements for Mrs.

---

40 I am indebted to Prof. Meister for these results from his search for possible archival information in Tallinn (Reval) concerning Rosenberg.

41 For full bibliographical reference see note 2. On the title page of *Die Probleme der buddhistischen Philosophie* we read: "Aus dem Russischen übersetzt von Frau E. Rosenberg."

42 The four letters had been found by Dr. Tatyana Yermakova in the Shcherbatskoj Archives at the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, in connection with her own earlier search of the Rosenberg Archives.

43 In view of the importance of these letters (which had been handwritten) in relation to my visit to St. Petersburg in the spring of 1995, I considered English translations of them to be highly desirable; these were provided by Dr. Elena A. Ostrovskaya (Jr.) of the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg in a very limited time on very short notice.

Rosenberg's German translation to be published in Heidelberg (by Prof. Max Walleser).[44]

In one of the letters to Shcherbatskoj, Elfrida Rosenberg wrote that Rosenberg had himself planned a German version and also an English version of his *Problems*, but she remarked that her own command of English was insufficient, without assistance, for that purpose.

My subsequent inquiry (in the late spring of 1995) to the Helsinki City Archives for any information about Elfrida Rosenberg resulted in key additional and complementary data:[45] born October 15, 1888 (the same year as for her husband) in Pavlovsk (where the Rosenbergs had resided before they left, "fled", according to one of Elfrida Rosenberg's letters to Shcherbatskoj) with the retreating Yudenich Army); maiden name Wegener (a German name); married on April 5, 1912 (the same year as the Rosenbergs' departure for the four years in Japan, where, according to another one of her letters to Shcherbatskoj, she had already become accustomed to his still difficult handwriting); moved to Helsinki from a small town in Finland on September 5, 1922; died in 1953. There was no indication of when she had arrived in Finland from Estonia, although the year 1920, the year in which she began work on the German translation of the *Problems*, seems likely.

This additional material establishes conclusively[46] that the translator for the German edition (from the Russian original) of Rosenberg's *Problems of Buddhist Philosophy*, namely, Mrs. E. Rosenberg, was indeed Elfrida Rosenberg, Otto Rosenberg's widow, and hence establishes that that work, of some 300 printed pages — as well as its reprintings in Taipei — was her legacy for her deceased husband.[47]

---

44 See note 2.

45 I am very grateful to Mrs. Sari Starr, of the Helsinki City Archives, for the information concerning Elfrida Rosenberg.

46 Already in 1927 Shcherbatskoj confirmed that Elfrida Rosenberg, the widow of O. Rosenberg, translated his *Problems of Buddhist Philosophy* into German, see Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, Leningrad 1927, Indian reprint (1978), pt. II, p. 9, note 1: "The theory of separate elements (*dharma*) is expounded in detail by Prof. O. Rosenberg, 'Problems of Buddhist Philosophy' [now translated into German from Russian by his widow (Heidelberg 1924) and also by myself in my 'Central Conception of Buddhism' (London 1923).]." (Note by Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz)

47 For a more detailed account of the present author's search for information about the life and career of Otto Rosenberg and his wife, Elfrida, see J.S. Barlow, "The Mysterious Case of the Brilliant Young Russian Orientalist", in: *International Association of Orientalist Librarians*, Bulletin, No. 41/42 (1995-1996), pp. 24-36, being part 1 of 3 parts.

An Annotated Bibliographical Account of O.O. Rosenberg's Writings

KARÉNINA KOLLMAR-PAULENZ

Throughout the preceeding four articles quite a few of O.O. Rosenberg's writings are mentioned. Rosenberg, however, has written more than the above frequently quoted books and articles. Therefore it appears useful to give a complete, or rather nearly complete,[1] list of all of Rosenberg's published and unpublished writings which have been available, at least in bibliographical reference, to me. Some of Rosenberg's writings are preserved in the *Arkhiv vostokovedov LO IVAN SSSR (Archives of the Orientalists of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Science of the USSR)* [fond 47]. Probably the Archives contain more, still unknown material than is available to me at present. Unfortunately the citation habits of the Russian scholars who have written about Rosenberg are rather poor: they frequently mention an article or book (even this is sometimes not discernible from the reference) written by him, but do not state where and whether at all the work was published. In English-language publications by Russian authors often only the English title is provided. Due to these poor references in some cases it is only possible to provide the English title of a given article or book. There is also the chance that I overlooked a reference; I hope the reader will forgive this in view of the difficulty to hunt up the relevant Russian literature.[2]

To my knowledge the earliest article written by Rosenberg is the essay "Buddijskie sistemy i teoriya 'dkharm.' Vvedenie v filosofiyu Vasubandkhu" ("The Buddhist Systems and the Theory of 'Dharma'. An Introduction to the Philosophy of Vasubandhu"), which he originally planned as a foreword to the translation project of the Abhidharmakośa.[3] He composed this article in 1912, and a year later, in 1913, it was published in the *Yearbook of the Tokyo German Society*.

During his stay in Japan Rosenberg wrote his *Arrangement of Chinese Characters According to an Alphabetical System with Japanese Dictionary of Eight Thousand Characters and List of Twenty-two Thousand Characters*, which was published in

---

1 For the convenience of the reader the already cited works of Rosenberg are also included in this list.

2 I am indebted to Professor Dr. Klaus Sagaster, University of Bonn, for generously providing me with the relevant Russian literature from his personal library.

3 See Yu. Mikhajlova, "Russian Buddhologist Otton Rosenberg (1888-1919)", in: *Far Eastern Affairs*, 4, 1987, p. 79.

Tokyo in the year 1916. In 1918 his *Opyt kodifikatsii ieroglificheskogo èlementa yaponskogo yazyka (Attempt at the Codification of the Hieroglyphic Elements of the Japanese Language)* was published in St. Petersburg.[4]

F.I. Shcherbatskoj mentions three works of Rosenberg, two of which have not been published: the article "Religion, Philosophy, Buddhist Studies", published in German in *Mitteilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Jahreschronik 1918*, the essay "Religion and Philosophy" in a collection prepared by the St. Petersburg Society of Orientalists, which was printed, but not published, and a complete Japanese-Russian Dictionary, which is preserved in manuscript (in possession of the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg).[5]

The same year, 1918, saw the publication of Rosenberg's two-volume work on which his international acknowledgement as an outstanding scholar of Buddhist studies is founded: *Vvedenie v izuchenie buddizma po yaponskim i kitajskim istochnikam. Chast' pervaya: Svod'' leksikograficheskago materiala.* Tokyo, Petrograd 1916, 1917. *(Introduction to the Study of Buddhism According to Material Preserved in Japan and China. Part I: Vocabulary. A Survey of Buddhist Terms and Names Arranged According to Radicals with Japanese Readings and Sanskrit Equivalents. Supplemented by Addition of Terms and Names Relating to Shinto and Japanese History.)* Izdanie Fakul'teta Vostochnykh yazykov Petrogradskovo universiteta, No. 45, Petrograd. (Published by the Faculty of Oriental Languages of the Imperial University of Petrograd, Tokyo, 1916). *Vvedenie v izuchenie buddizma po yaponskim i kitajskim istochnikam. Chast' vtoraya: Problemy buddijskoj filosofii.* Izdanie Fakul'teta Vostochnykh yazykov Petrogradskogo universiteta, No. 45, Petrograd 1918. *(Introduction to the Study of Buddhism According to Japanese and Chinese Sources. Part II. Problems of Buddhist Philosophy.* Press of the Faculty of Oriental Languages, Petrograd University, No. 45, Petrograd 1918).

As has already been expounded in detail, at the first Buddhist Exposition in St. Petersburg Rosenberg read his famous lecture, which was published in the same year: *Pervaya Buddijskaya vystavka v Peterburge. O mirosozertsanii sovremennogo buddizma*

---

4 See *Aziatskij Muzej (The Asiatic Museum)*, p. 188, note 8.

5 See Th. Stcherbatsky, "Prof. Dr. O. Rosenberg. Eine biographische Skizze", in: O. Rosenberg, *Die Weltanschauung des modernen Buddhismus im fernen Osten,* Heidelberg 1924 (Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, 6. Heft), p. 47.

na Dal'nem Vostoke. Lektsiya professora O.O. Rozenberga, chitannaya na Pervoj buddijskoj vystavke v Peterburge. Izdanie Otdela po delam Muzeev i okhrany pamyatnikov Iskusstva i Stariny. Peterburg, 1919. (*First Buddhist Exposition in St. Petersburg. On the World-View of Contemporary Buddhism in the Far East. Lecture of O.O. Rosenberg, read at the First Buddhist Exposition in St. Petersburg. Published by the Department of Museums and Preservation of Monuments of Art and Antiquities*, St. Petersburg, 1919, 72 pp.[6]

In the *Arkhiv vostokovedov LO IVAN SSSR (Archives of the Orientalists of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Science of the USSR)*, fond 47, the literary legacy of Rosenberg is still preserved. We find here the following, unpublished manuscripts: "Vvedeniya v izuchenie buddizma po kitajskim i yaponskim istochnikam" (Buddijskaya literatura") ("Introduction to the Study of Buddhism According to Chinese and Japanese Sources" ("Buddhist Literature"). This unfinished manuscript in Rosenberg's plans constituted the third part of his *Introduction*. His articles "Ob izuchenii yaponskogo buddizma" ("On the Study of Japanese Buddhism") and "O buddijskoj filosofii zhizni" ("On the Buddhist Philosophy of Life") are also preserved ın the Archives, along with the collection of his lexicographical and dictionary materials[7] from the dictionary project Rosenberg had planned together with the Sinologist V.M. Alekseev. They intended to compile a Chinese-Japanese-English-Russian dictionary.[8]

After his death in 1919 two of Rosenberg's works were posthumously published in Japan: "Perspectives of the Study of the *Abhidharmakośa* in Japanese Science",[9] and "Japanese Buddhism".[10]

---

6 From the citation in the reprint, O. O. Rozenberg, *Trudy po buddizmu*, p. 244.

7 See *Aziatskij Muzej (The Asiatic Museum)*, Moscow 1972, p. 188.

8 ibid., p. 109.

9 "Kusharon kenkyû ni tsuite Nihon gakkai ni nozomu". In: *Shûkyô kenkyû*, 1920, No. 12. I am indebted to Ms. Narangoa Li, Bonn University, for preparing the correct transliteration of the Japanese title.

10 "Nihon bukkyô." In: *Gendai bukkyô*, 1925, No. 11. I am again indebted to Ms. Narangoa Li for preparing the Japanese transliteration.

In his too short life, O.O. Rosenberg succeeded in publishing only a few, but nevertheless outstanding, contributions to Buddhology and Japanese Buddhism, which have outlived its author. Rosenberg will be remembered among scholars of Buddhist studies as one of the most prominent Russian scholars in the history of Buddhology and Japanology.

Bibliography

Aziatskij Muzei — Leningradskoe otdelenie instituta vostokovedeniya AN SSSR (The Asiatic Museum — the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR), Moscow 1972.

Baiev, A.A., "Russkaya nauka: O.O. Rozenberg." ("Russian Scholarship: O.O. Rosenberg"). In: *Svoboda Rossii (Freedom of Russia)*, No. 116, Tallinn, 28 May 1920.

Baradijn, B.B., *Buddijskie monastyri. (Buddhist Monasteries.)* 1926. Reprinted in: "Orient". Al'manakh, vyp. I, St. Petersburg 1992.

Baradijn, B.B., *Puteshestvie v Lavran. 1905-1907 gg. (Journey to Lavran. 1905-1907).* St. Petersburg 1908 (*Zap. Russk. geogr. ob-va po otd. ètnografii, t. 34)*.

Baradijn, B.B., *Statuya Majtrei v zolotom khrame v Lavrane. (The Statue of Maitreya in the Golden Temple of Lavran.)* Leningrad 1924. (Bibliotheca Buddhica, XXII).

Barlow, J.S., *A Chinese-Russian-English Dictionary (Mudrov's Chinese-Russian Dictionary with an English Text and Appendices).* Univ. of Hawaii Press, 1995.

Barlow, J.S., "The Mysterious Case of the Brilliant Young Russian Orientalist." In: *International Association of Orientalist Librarians*, Bulletin, No. 41/42 (1995-1996), pp. 24-36.

Basiyants, A.P., "Dve vstrechi S.F. Ol'denburga s V.I. Leninym i razvitie sovetskogo vostokovedeniya." ("Two Meetings of S.F. Ol'denburg with V.I. Lenin and the Development of Soviet Oriental Studies.") In: Primyakov, E.M. (ed.), *Vostokovedenie na rubezhe dvukh epoch (Oriental Studies at the Turn of Two Epochs)*, Moscow 1986, pp. 21-29.

Chimitdorzhiev, Sh.B. (ed.), *Rossijskie mongolovedy (XVIII-nachalo XXvv.) (Russian Mongolists, 18th to Beginning of 20th Century)*, Ulan-Udė 1997.

Chukovskij, K.I., "Dnevniki." ("Diaries.") In: *Novyj mir (New World)*, 1990, nos. 7, 8, 9.

Dokumenty po istorii Akademii Nauk SSSR. 1917-1925. (Documents on the History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. 1917-1925.) Moscow 1986.

Drujina, G., *The History of the North-West Army of General Yudenich.* Doctoral Dissertation (History), Stanford University, 1950.

Eliseev, S.G., *Uroki gneva i lyubvi (Lessons of Anger and Love).* Issue No. 4, St. Petersburg 1993.

Ignatovich, A.N., "O.O. Rozenberg i ego trudy po buddizmu." ("O.O. Rosenberg and His Works on Buddhism".) In: *O.O. Rozenberg, Trudy po buddizmu (Works on Buddhism).* Moscow: "Nauka", 1991, pp. 6-17.

Konrad, N.I., "O F.I. Shcherbatskom." ("On F.I. Shcherbatskoj.") In: *Indijskaya kul'tura i buddizm (Indian Culture and Buddhism).* Moscow 1972.

Kotwicz, W., *Jozef Kowalewski orientalista (1801-1878) ze wstepem Mariana Lewickiego. Bibligrafia opracowana przez Maria Kotwiczówna oraz niewydana korespondencja Kowalewskiego (The Orientalist Jozef Kowalewski (1801-1878), with an Introduction by Marian Lewicki. Bibliography Prepared by Maria Kotwiczówna and Unpublished Correspondence by Kowalewski)*, Wroclaw 1948.

Kovalevskij, O.M., *Buddijskaya kosmologiya. Uchenye zapiski, izdavaemye Imperatorskim Kazanskim universitetom. (Buddhist Cosmology. Scholarly Records, published by the Imperial University of Kazan.)* Kazan 1835-1837.

La Vallée Poussin, L. de, *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās (Mādhyamikasūtras) de Nāgārjuna avec la Prasannapadā Commentaire de Candrakīrti.* St. Petersburg, 1903-1913. (Bibliotheca Buddhica, IV);

La Vallée Poussin, L. de, *Madhyamakāvatāra par Candrakīrti.* Traduction tibétaine. St. Petersburg 1907-1912. (Bibliotheca Buddhica, IX).

Mikhajlova, Yu., "Russian Buddhologist Otton Rosenberg (1888-1919)." In: *Far Eastern Affairs*, 1987, No. 4, pp. 76-86.

Mikhajlova, Yu.D., "Vydayushchijsya buddolog O.O. Rozenberg" ("The Eminent

Buddhologist O.O. Rosenberg"). In: *Problemy Dal'nego Vostoka (Problems of the Far East)* 3 (63), 1987, pp. 87-96.

Miliband, Ts.D., *Bibliograficheskij slovar' sovetskikh vostokovedov (Bibliographical Dictionary of Soviet Orientalists)*. Moscow 1977.

Minaev, I.P., *Buddizm. Issledovaniya i materialy. (Buddhism. Studies and Materials.)* T. I, vyp. 1,2. St. Petersburg 1887. French translation: Ivan Pavlovitch Minayeff: *Recherches sur le bouddhisme*. Trad. du russe par R.H. Assier de Pompignan, Paris (Leroux) 1894.

Mudrov, V.G. (ed.), *Kitajsko-Russkij Slovar' (Chinese-Russian Dictionary)*. Moscow 1980 (1988), Izdatel'stvo "Russkij yazyk".

Murti, T.R.V., *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism. A Study of the Mādhyamika System*. London 1974 (1955).

Ol'denburg, S.F., "Materialy po buddijskoj ikonografii Khara-khoto." ("Materials on the Buddhist Iconography of Hara-Hoto.") In: *Materialy po ètnografii Rossii (Materials on the Ethnography of Russia)*, St. Petersburg 1914, Vol. 2, pp. 26-28, 39-40, 42-43, 36-37, 66.

Ol'denburg, S.F., "Otchet o komandirovke na vystavku po buddijskomu iskusstvu v Parizh." ("Report of the Official Mission to the Paris Exhibition of Buddhist Art.") In: *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk (Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences)*, 1913, pp. 377-382.

Ol'denburg, S., "Pamyati O.O. Rozenberga. 1888-1920." ("Memories of O.O. Rosenberg. 1888-1920.") In: *Mysl'. Zhurnal Peterburgskogo filosofskogo obshchestva.* (*Thought. Journal of the St. Petersburg Philosophical Society.*) Pod redaktsiej Ė.L. Radlova i N.O. Losskogo. No. 1 (yanvar'-fevral'), 1922, pp. 157-158.

Ol'denburg, S.F., *Pervaya buddijskaya vystavka v Peterburge (First Buddhist Exposition in Petersburg)*, St. Petersburg 1919. Reprinted in: E.P. Ostrovskaya, V.I. Rudoj (eds.), *Buddijskij vzglyad na mir (The Buddhist Outlook on the World)*, St. Petersburg, Andreev and Sons, 1994, pp. 403-427.

Ol'denburg, S.F., *Sbornik 300 burkhanov. (Collection of 300 Buddhas.)* St. Petersburg 1903. (Bibliotheca Buddhica, V).

Ol'denburg, S.F., "Zhizn' Buddy, indijskogo uchitelya zhizni." ("The Life of Buddha, Indian Teacher of Life.") In: *Nauka i religiya (Science and Religion)*, 1990.

Oshanin, I.M. (ed.), *Bol'shoj Kitaijsko-Russkij Slovar' (Large Chinese-Russian Dictionary)*. 4 vols. Moscow 1983-1984. Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", Glavnaya redaktsiya Vostochnoj Literatury.

Ostrovskaya, E.A., *Guntan Danbi Donme. Obuchenie metodu issledovaniya tekstov sutr i tantr.* Vvedenie, perevod s tibetskogo i mongol'skogo, kommentarij i issledovanie E.A. Ostrovskoj-mladshej. (*Gung thang bstan pa'i sgron me. Instruction in the Method of Studying the Texts of the Sūtras and Tantras.* Introduction, Translation from the Tibetan and Mongolian, Commentary and explanation by E. A. Ostrovskaya Jr.). Moskva, Ladomir, 1997.

Ostrovskaya, E.A., *Sovremennye sekulyarnye buddijskie obshchiny Sankt-Peterburga: kul'turno-antropologicheskoe issledovanie.* (The Contemporary Secular Buddhist Community of St. Petersburg: A Cultural-Anthropological Study). St. Petersburg, 1998, manuscript.

Ostrovskaya, E.P., Rudoj, V.I. (eds.), *Buddijskij vzglyad na mir (The Buddhist Outlook on the World)*. St. Petersburg, Andreev and Sons, 1994. (Seriya vostochnoj literatury "mudrost' vekov").

Ostrovskaya, E.P., Rudoj, V.I., *Vasubandkhu. Abkhidharmakosha. Razdel III. Uchenie o mire. Perevod s sanskrita, vvedenie, kommentarij i istoriko-filosofskoe issledovanie E.P. Ostrovskoj i V.I. Rudogo. (Vasubandhu. Abhidharmakośa. Part III. The Teaching about the World. Translation from the Sanskrit, Introduction, Commentary and Historical-Philosophical Study by E.P. Ostrovskaya and V.I. Rudoj).* St. Petersburg, Andreev and Sons, 1994.

Pozdneev, A.M., *Mongoliya i mongoly. Rezul'taty poezdki mongoliya, ispolnennoj v 1892-1893gg. (Mongolia and the Mongols. Results of a Journey through Mongolia, Carried out in the Years 1892-1893.)* St. Petersburg, Tipografiya imperatorskoj akademii nauk, 1896. English translation: A.M. Pozdneyev,

Mongolia and the Mongols. Vol. I. Ed. by John R. Krueger (and) Fred Adelman. Translated from the Russian by John Roger Shaw and Dale Plank. Bloomington, Indiana Univ. 1971 (Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol. 61); *Mongolia and the Mongols*. Vol. II. Ed by John R. Krueger. Translated from the Russian by William H. Dougherty. Bloomington, Indiana Univ. 1977 (Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol. 61/62).

Pozdneev, A.M., *Ocherki byta buddijskikh monastyrej i buddijskogo dukhovenstva v Mongolii b svyazi s otnosheniem sego poslednego k narodu. (Sketches of the Life of Buddhist Monasteries and Buddhist Clergy in Mongolia with Regard to Their Relation to the People.)* Zapiski Imperatorkogo Russkogo Geograficheskogo obshchestva po otdelu etnografii. T. XVI, St. Petersburg 1887. English translation: A.M. Pozdneyev, *Religion and Ritual in Society: Lamaist Buddhism in Late 19th Century Mongolia,* ed. by John R. Krueger. Translated from the Russian by Alo Raun and Linda Raun. Publications of The Mongolia Society, Inc., Occasional Papers, No. 10, Bloomington, Ind., 1978.

Primyakov, E.M., *Vostokovedenie na rubezhe dvukh epokh. — Sergej Fedorovich Ol'denburg. (Oriental Studies at the turn of two epochs — Sergej Fedorovich Ol'denburg.)* Moscow 1986.

Pyatigorskij, A.M., "O.O. Rozenberg i problema yazyka opicaniya v buddologii. (K pyatidesyatiletiyu vykhoda v svet knigi O.O. Rozenberga "Problemy buddijskoj filosofii")" ("O.O. Rosenberg and the Problem of Terminology in Buddhology. To the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Publication of O.O. Rosenberg's Work 'Problems of Buddhist Philosophy'"). In: *Trudy po znakovym sistemam V. Pamyati Vladimira Yakovlevicha Proppa.* (Studies on Symbolic Systems, V. To the Memory of Vladimir Yakovlevich Propp). (Acta et commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis, No. 284). Tartu 1971, pp. 423-436.

Rosenberg, O.O.: see also Rozenberg, O.O.

Rosenberg, O.O., *Arrangement of Chinese Characters According to an Alphabetical System with Japanese Dictionary of 8000 Characters and List of 22 000 Characters*. Tokyo, Kobunsha, 1916.

Rosenberg, O.O., *Die Probleme der buddhistischen Philosophie.* Heidelberg 1924. (Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, herausgegeben von Dr. M. Walleser, Professor in Heidelberg, 7./8. Heft). Reprinted in 1976 and 1983 by *Chinese Materials Center*, Taipei (Reprint Series, No. 52).

Rosenberg, O.O., "Religion, Philosophy, Buddhist Studies", in: *Mitteilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Jahreschronik 1918.*

Rozenberg, O.O.: see also Rosenberg, O.O.

Rozenberg, O.O. "Buddijskie sistemy i teorii 'dkharm.' Vvedenie v filosofiyu Vasubandkhu" ("Buddhist Systems and the Theory of 'Dharma'. An Introduction to the Philosophy of Vasubandhu.") In: *Yearbook of the Tokyo German Society*, 1913.

Rozenberg, O.O., *Opyt kodifikatsii ieroglificheskogo ėlementa yaponskogo yazyka (Attempt at the Codification of the Hieroglyphic Elements of the Japanese Language).* Petrograd 1918.

Rozenberg, O.O., *Pervaya buddijskaya vystavka v Peterburge. O mirosozertsanii sovremennogo buddizma na Dal'nem Vostoke. Lektsiya professora O.O. Rozenberga, chitannaya na pervoj buddijskoj vystavke v Peterburge.* Izdanie otdela po delam muzeev i okhrany pamyatnikov iskusstva i stariny. Peterburg 1919. (*First Buddhist Exposition in St. Petersburg. On the World-View of Contemporary Buddhism in the Far East. Lecture of O.O. Rosenberg, Read at the First Buddhist Exposition in St. Petersburg.*) Published by the Department of Museums and Preservation of Monuments of Art and Antiquities. St. Petersburg 1919. German translation: *Die Weltanschauung des modernen Buddhismus im fernen Osten* von Dr. Otto Rosenberg, Professor der Universität in St. Petersburg. Aus dem Russischen übersetzt von Dr. Ph. Schaeffer. Heidelberg 1924. (Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, herausgegeben von Dr. M. Walleser, Professor in Heidelberg. 6. Heft)

Rozenberg, O.O., *Trudy po buddizmu. (Works on Buddhism).* Moscow: "Nauka". Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoj literatury, 1991.

Rozenberg, O.O., *Vvedenie v izuchenie buddizma po yaponskim i kitajskim istochnikam. Chast' pervaya: Svod'' leksikograficheskago materiala.* Tokyo, Petrograd 1916, 1917. (*Introduction to the Study of Buddhism According to Material Preserved in Japan and China. Part I: Vocabulary. A Survey of Buddhist Terms and Names Arranged According to Radicals with Japanese Readings and Sanskrit Equivalents. Supplemented by Addition of Terms and Names Relating to Shinto and Japanese History.)* Izdanie Fakul'teta Vostochnykh yazykov Petrogradskovo universiteta, No. 45, Petrograd. (Published by the Faculty of Oriental Languages of the Imperial University of Petrograd, Tokyo, 1916).

Rozenberg, O.O., *Vvedenie v izuchenie buddizma po yaponskim i kitajskim istochnikam. Chast' vtoraya: Problemy buddijskoj filosofii.* Izdanie Fakul'teta Vostochnykh yazykov Petrogradskogo universiteta, No. 45, Petrograd 1918. (*Introduction to the Study of Buddhism According to Japanese and Chinese Sources. Part II. Problems of Buddhist Philosophy.* Press of the Faculty of Oriental Languages, Petrograd University, No. 45, Petrograd 1918).

Rudoj, V.I., "Problemnye buddologicheskie issledovaniya v LO IV AN SSSR." ("Problem-Oriented Buddhological Research in the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.") In: *Buddizm. Problemy istorii, kul'tury, sovremennosti. (Buddhism. Problems of History, Culture and Contemporaneity.)* Moscow 1990, pp. 31-44.

Rudoj, V.I.: See Ostrovskaya, E.P., Rudoj, V.I.

Rudoj, V.I., *Vasubandkhu. Abkhidkharmakosha. Razdel I. Analiz po klassam ėlementov. Perevod s sanskrita, vvedenie, kommentarij i istoriko-filosofskoe issledovanie V.I. Rudogo. (Vasubandhu. Abhidharmakośa. Part I. Analysis According to the Classes of Elements. Translation from the Sanskrit, Introduction, Commentary, Historical-Philosophical Study by V.I. Rudoj.)* Moscow, Nauka, 1990.

Schiefner, A., *Herrn Professor Wassiljew's Vorrede* zu seiner russischen Übersetzung Tāranātha's. Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, deutsch mitgetheilt von A. Schiefner. Nachtrag zu der deutschen Übersetzung Tāranātha's. St. Petersburg, 1869.

Semeka, E.S., "Rozenberg, Otto Karl Julius." In: *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, 1983, 31, p. 211.

Shcherbatskoj, F.I., "Filosofskoe uchenie buddizma." ("The Philosophical Teaching of Buddhism.") St. Petersburg, 1919. Reprinted in: *Vostok-Zapad (East-West)*, vyp. 4, Moscow 1989.

Shcherbatskoj, F.I., *Teoriya poznaniya i logika po ucheniyu pozdnejshikh buddistov. (The Theory of Knowledge and Logic According to the Teachings of the Later Buddhists).* Part I, II. St. Petersburg, 1903, 1909.

F.I. Shcherbatskoj, *Tibetskij perevod Abhidharmakoçakarikah i Abhidharmakoçabhāsyam sochinenij Vasubandkhu (The Tibetan Translation of the Abhidharmakośakarikā and the Abhidharmakośabhāsyam from the Works of Vasubandhu)*, ch. I-II, Petrograd, 1917-1930 (Bibliotheca Buddhica, XX).

Stcherbatsky, Theodore [= Shcherbatskoj, F.I.], *The Central Conception of Buddhism.* London 1923.

Stcherbatsky, Theodore [= Shcherbatskoj, F.I.], *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa.* Leningrad 1927. (Indian reprint 1968, 1977, 1978).

Stcherbatsky, Th. [= Shcherbatskoj, F.I.], "Prof. Dr. O. Rosenberg. Eine biographische Skizze." In: *Die Weltanschauung des modernen Buddhismus im fernen Osten* von Dr. Otto Rosenberg. (Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, 6. Heft). Heidelberg 1924, pp. 44-47.

Shcherbatskoj, F.I., Ol'denburg, S.F., Tubyanskij, M.I., "Institut izucheniya buddijskoj kul'tury. Ob''yasnitel'naya zapiska k proektu uchrezhdeniya pri Akademii nauk SSSR Instituta izucheniya buddijskoj kul'tury." ("The Institute for the Study of Buddhist Culture. Explanatory Note to the Project of the Foundation of the Institute for the Study of Buddhist Culture by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.") In: *Izvestiya AN SSSR (Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR)*, ser. VI, vol. XXI, 1927, No. 18, pp. 1701-1704.

Tsybikov, G.Ts., *Buddist-palomnik u svyatyn' Tibeta. (A Buddhist Pilgrim to Holy Tibet.* 1919. In: Tsybikov, G.Ts., *Izbrannye trudy. (Selected works.)*, Novosibirsk, 1991.

Vasil'ev, V.P., *Buddizm, ego dogmaty, istoriya i literatura. (Buddhism, Its Dogmas, History and Literature.)* I, III. St. Petersburg 1857, 1869. German translation: Wassilij Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus, seine Dogmen, Geschichte und Literatur.* Aus dem Russ. übers. [von] A[nton] Schiefner. Th. 1: Allgemeine Übersicht. St. Petersburg: Eggers [usw.] 1860.

Vasil'ev, V.P., *Istoriya buddizma v Indii*, sochinenie Daranat'y. Perevod s tibetskogo V. Vasil'eva (*The History of Buddhism in India*, the Work of Tāranātha. Translated from the Tibetan by V. Vasil'ev), St. Petersburg, 1869.

Vigasin, A.A., Khokhlov, A.N., Shastitko, P.M. (ed.), *Istoriya otechestvennogo vostokovedeniya s serediny XIX veka do 1917 goda. (History of Russian Oriental Studies from the Middle of the 19th Century to the Year 1917),* Moscow: Izdatel'skaya firma "Vostochnaya literatura", 1997.

Vostokovedenie v Petrograde 1918-1922gg. (Oriental Studies in Petrograd, 1918-1922). Petrograd 1923.

Yermakov, M.E., *Hui-jiao. Zhizneopisaniya dostojnykh monakhov (Gaosèng Zhuan).* Perevod s kitajskogo, kommentarij i ukazateli. T. I (Razdel I: Perevodchiki). (*Hui-jiao. The Lives of Eminent Monks (Gaoseng Zhuan).* Translation from the Chinese, Commentary and Index. Vol. I (Part I: Translators). Moscow, Nauka, 1991.

Yermakov, M.E., *Mir kitajskogo buddizma.* (*The World of Chinese Buddhism.*) St. Petersburg, Andreev and Sons, 1994.

Yermakova, T.V., *Buddhijskij mir glazami rossijskikh issledovatelej XIX—XXvv. (The Buddhist World as Viewed by Russian Researchers of the XIX-XX Centuries)*, St. Petersburg, "Nauka", 1998.

Yermakova, T.V., "O.O. Rozenberg v kontekste razvitiya rossijskoj buddologii" ("O.O. Rosenberg in the Context of the Development of Russian Buddhology"). Unpublished manuscript, 1996.

Yermakova, T.V, "Pervaya buddijskaya vystavka v Peterburge (1919)" ("The First Buddhist Exposition in Petersburg"). In: Ostrovskaya, E.P., Rudoj, V.I. (eds.), *Buddijskij vzglyad na mir (The Buddhist Outlook on the World).* St. Petersburg, Andreev and Sons, 1994, pp. 392-397.

Zhol', K.K., "Tvorcheskoe nasledie O.O. Rozenberga (Biografiya i kriticheskij ocherk metodologii kul'turno-istoricheskogo poznaniya)" ("The Creative Legacy of O.O. Rosenberg (Biography and Critical Essay on the Methodology of the Cultural-Historical Perception")). In: *Formirovanie gumanisticheskikh traditsij otechestvennogo vostokovedeniya (do 1917 goda) (The Forming of the Tradition of the Humanities in Russian Oriental Studies (up to 1917)).* Moscow, Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", 1984.

Index of Proper Names

WIENER STUDIEN ZUR TIBETOLOGIE UND BUDDHISMUSKUNDE

1: **Ernst Steinkellner,** ***Verse-Index of Dharmakīrti's Works*** **(Tibetan Versions).** 1977. XIV, 225 p. vergriffen

2: **Lobsang Dargyay,** ***Die Legende von den Sieben Prinzessinnen (Saptakumārikā Avadāna).*** In der poetischen Fassung von Guhyadatta/Gopadatta aufgrund der tibetischen Übersetzung herausgegeben, übersetzt und bearbeitet. 1978. X, 162 p. vergriffen

3: **Piotr Klafkowski,** ***The Secret Deliverance of the Sixth Dalai Lama, as narrated by Dharmatāla.*** Edited from the Hor Chos-'byuṅ and translated into English, with an introduction and comments. 1979. VI, 93 p. vergriffen

4: **Gudrun Bühnemann,** ***Der Allwissende Buddha. Ein Beweis und seine Probleme. Ratnakīrti's Sarvajña-siddhi.*** 1980. L, 175 p. vergriffen

5: **Helmut Tauscher,** ***Candrakīrti – Madhyamakāvatāraḥ und Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣyam (Kapitel VI, Vers 166-226).*** 1981. XXVII, 214 p. vergriffen

6: **Lobsang Dargyay,** ***Guṅ thaṅ dKon mchog bsTan pa'i sgron me'i rNam thar mdor bsdus bźugs. - A Concise Biography of Guṅ thaṅ dKon mchog bsTan pa'i sgron me.*** 1981. VI,45 p. vergriffen

7: **Ernst Steinkellner (Ed.),** ***Guṅ thaṅ dKon mchog bsTan pa'i sgron me'i rNam thar sgo gsum gyi rnam bźag pa Legs bśad rgya mtsho'i rba rlabs.*** 1981. 20p. vergriffen

8: **Gudrun Bühnemann,** ***Jitāri: Kleine Texte.*** [Description of a manuscript from the Bihar Research Society with 10 small texts of Jitāri, and the edition of the following texts in Sanskrit: Vedāprāmāṇyasiddhi, Sarvajñasiddhi, Nairātmyasiddhi, Jātinirākṛti, *Īśvaravādimataparīkā.] 1982. ^{2}1985. 48 p. ATS 100,-

9: **Josef Kolmaš,** ***Ferdinand Stoliczka (1839-1874): The Life and Work of the Czech Explorer in India and High Asia.*** 1982. XI, 58 p. vergriffen

10: **E. Steinkellner / H. Tauscher (Ed.),** ***Contributions on Tibetan Language, History and Culture.*** *Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Symposium held at Velm-Vienna, Austria, 13-19 September 1981,* vol.1, 1983. XX, 479 p. vergriffen

11: **E. Steinkellner / H. Tauscher (Ed.),** ***Contributions on Tibetan and Buddhist Religion and Philosophy.*** *Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Symposium held at Velm-Vienna, Austria, 13-19 September 1981,* vol.2, 1983. XII, 334 p. vergriffen

12: **Tilman Vetter,** ***Der Buddha und seine Lehre in Dharmakīrtis Pramāṇavārttika.*** *Der Abschnitt über den Buddha und die vier Edlen Wahrheiten im Pramāṇasiddhi-Kapitel.* Eingeleitet, ediert und übersetzt. 1984. ^{2}1990. 183 p. ATS 230,-

13: **András Róna-Tas,** ***Wiener Vorlesungen zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte Tibets.*** 1985. 397 p. ATS 490,-

14: **Michael Aris,** ***Sources for the History of Bhutan.*** 1986. 203 p. ATS 250,-

15: **Ernst Steinkellner,** ***Dharmottaras Paralokasiddhi.*** *Nachweis der Wiedergeburt, zugleich eine Widerlegung materialistischer Thesen zur Natur der Geistigkeit.* Tibetischer Text kritisch herausgegeben und übersetzt. 1986. 57 p. ATS 80,-

16: **Per K. Sorensen,** ***Candrakīrti – Triśaraṇasaptati.*** *The Septuagint on the Three Refuges.* Edited, translated and annotated. 1986. 89 p. ATS 120,-

17: **David P. Jackson,** ***The Entrance Gate for the Wise (Section III). Sa-skya Paṇḍita on Indian and Tibetan Traditions of Pramāṇa and Philosophical Debate.*** 2 vols., 1987. 619 p. vergrifffen

18: **Michael Torsten Much,** ***A Visit to Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana's Collection of Negatives at the Bihar Research Society:*** *Texts from the Buddhist Epistemological School.* 1988. 35 p. ATS 52,-

19: **András Róna-Tas,** ***Mongolisches Lesebuch.*** *Lesestücke in Uigur-Mongolischer Schrift mit grammatikalischen Bemerkungen.* 1988. 65 p. ATS 100,-

20: **Victor Van Bijlert,** ***Epistemology and Spiritual Authority.*** *The Development of Epistemology and Logic in the Old Nyāya and the Buddhist School of Epistemology with an Annotated Translation of Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārttika II (Pramāṇasiddhi) vv. 1-7.* 1989. XIII, 191 p. ATS 230,-

21: Tom J. F. Tillemans and Derek D. Herforth, ***Agents and Actions in Classical Tibetan.*** *The Indigenous Grammarians on* bdag *and* gźan *and* bya byed las gsum. 1989. XXIII, 114 p. ATS 150,-

22: Helmut Tauscher, ***Verse-Index of Candrakīrti's Madhyamakāvatāra (Tibetan Versions).*** 1989. IX, 71 p. ATS 130,-

23: David P. Jackson, ***The Early Abbots of 'Phan-po Na-lendra:*** *The Vicissitudes of a Great Tibetan Monastery in the 15th Century.* 1989. 79 p. ATS 130,-

24: Tom J. F. Tillemans, ***Materials for the Study of Āryadeva, Dharmapāla and Candrakīrti.*** *The Catuḥśataka of Āryadeva, Chapters XII and XIII, with the Commentaries of Dharmapāla and Candrakīrti: Introduction, Translation, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese Texts, Notes.* 2 vols. 1990. XXXVI,290; IV,188 p. ATS 520,-

25: Per K. Sorensen, ***Divinity Secularized.*** *An Inquiry into the Nature and Form of the Songs Ascribed to the Sixth Dalai Lama.* 1990. 466 p. ATS 480,-

26: Ernst Steinkellner (Ed.), ***Tibetan History and Language.*** *Studies Dedicated to Uray Géza on his Seventieth Birthday.* 1991. XXXIV, 536 p. ATS 550,-

27: Shunzo Onoda, ***Monastic Debate in Tibet.*** *A Study on the History and Structures of* bsDus grwa *Logic.* 1992. VI, 254 p. ATS 340,-

28: Helmut Eimer, ***Ein Jahrzehnt Studien zur Überlieferung des Tibetischen Kanjur.*** 1992. XL, 202 p. ATS 330,-

29: Claus Oetke, ***Bemerkungen zur buddhistischen Doktrin der Momentanheit des Seienden.*** *Dharmakīrtis* sattvānumānam. 1993. 266 p. ATS 350,-

30: Roy Andrew Miller, ***Prolegomena to the First Two Tibetan Grammatical Treatises.*** 1993. 252 p. ATS 340,-

31: Takashi Iwata, Prasaṅga ***und*** Prasaṅgaviparyaya ***bei Dharmakīrti und seinen Kommentatoren.*** 1993. 158 p. ATS 220,-

32: Gudrun Bühnemann, ****Sādhanaśataka and *Sādhanaśatapañcāśikā.*** *Two Buddhist Sādhana Collections in Sanskrit Manuscript.* 1994. 150 p. ATS 200,-

33: Claus Oetke, ***Studies on the Doctrine of trairūpya.*** 1994. 144 p. ATS 200,-

34: Jonathan A. Silk, ***The Heart Sūtra in Tibetan.*** *A Critical Edition of the Two Recensions Contained in the Kanjur.* 1994. 205 p. ATS 300,-

35: Jeffrey D. Schoening, ***The Śālistamba Sūtra and its Indian Commentaries.*** 2 vols. 1995. XX, 388; IX, 382 p. ATS 850,-

36: Helmut Tauscher, ***Die Lehre von den zwei Wirklichkeiten*** *in Tsoṅ kha pas Madhyamaka-Werken.* 1995. X, 478 p. ATS 550,-

37: Chizuko Yoshimizu, ***Die Erkenntnislehre des Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka*** *nach dem Tshig gsal stoṅ thun gyi tshad ma'i rnam bśad des 'Jam dbyaṅs bźad pa'i rdo rje. Einleitung, Textanalyse, Übersetzung.* 1996. XXII, 309 p. ATS 440,-

38: Eli Franco, ***Dharmakīrti on Compassion and Rebirth.*** 1997. 394p. ATS 480,-

39: Birgit Kellner, ***Nichts bleibt nichts.*** *Die buddhistische Zurückweisung von Kumārilas* abhāvapramāṇa. *Übersetzung und Interpretation von Śāntarakṣitas Tattvasaṅgraha vv. 1647 - 1690 mit Kamalaśīlas Tattvasaṅgrahapañjikā, sowie Ansätze und Arbeitshypothesen zur Geschichte negativer Erkenntnis in der Indischen Philosophie.* 1997. XXXIII, 154 p. ATS 220,-

40: ***The Brief Catalogues to the Narthang and the Lhasa Kanjurs.*** *A Synoptic Edition of the* bKa' 'gyur rin po che'i mtshan tho *and the* rGyal ba'i bka' 'gyur rin po che'i chos tshan so so'i mtshan byaṅ dkar chag bsdus pa. Compiled by the members of staff, Indo-Tibetan section of the Indologisches Seminar, Universität Bonn, Issued on the Occasion of Professor Dr. Claus Vogel's sixty-fifth birthday, July 6, 1998. 206 p. ATS 250,-